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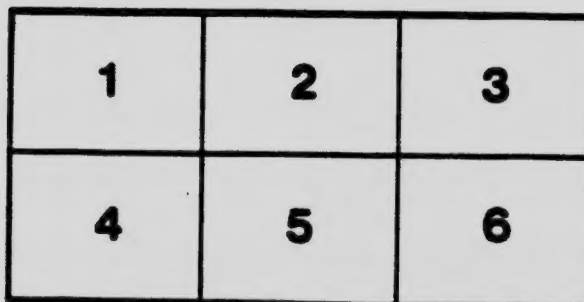
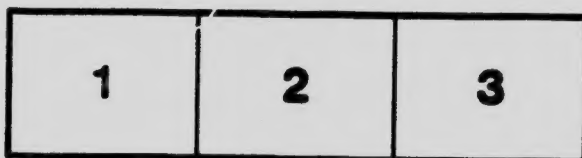
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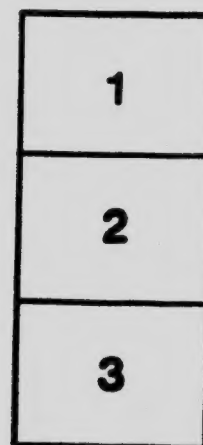
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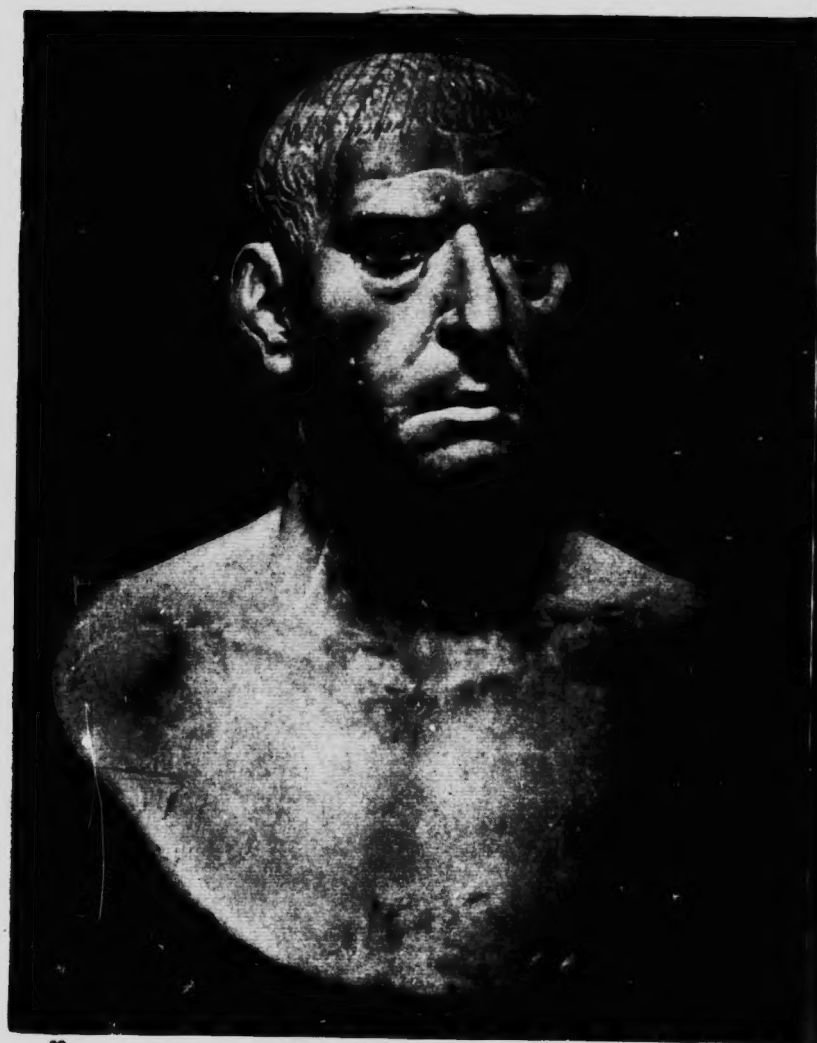
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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
From the bust in Naples Museum

M. TULLI CICERONIS

DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

SIVE

PRO LEGE MANILIA

AD QUIRITES ORATIO

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, &c.

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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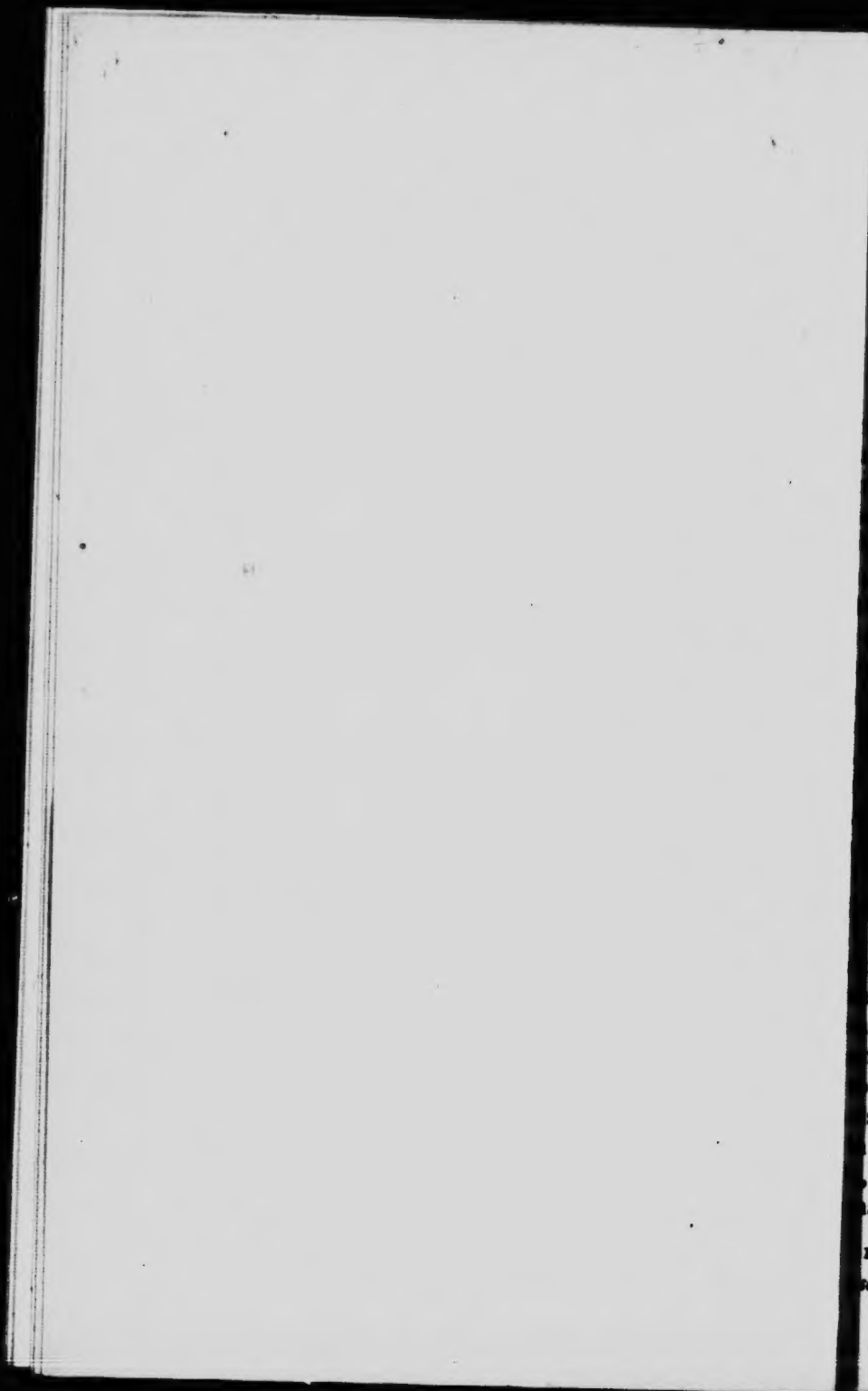
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INTRODUCTION

The policy of Rome in the eastern half of the Mediterranean area was at first different from that pursued in the western half. The wars with Carthage had made any other policy than that of annexation impossible; consequently Sicily, Spain, the western islands, and finally Africa, were from the first made directly subject to Rome as external departments of administration (*provinciae*). In the eastern Mediterranean the Senate exhibited greater reluctance to annex. The hesitancy displayed in accepting opportunities of rupture, and the studied moderation of the terms imposed after victory, prove that Rome did not deliberately adopt a policy of conquest in the East. Although the short space of twenty-four years sufficed for the virtual conquest of Macedonia, Greece and western Asia, the Senate had on each opportunity refused to annex, contenting itself with the establishment of a protectorate. It was not until three Macedonian wars had proved the utility of this policy that Macedonia was declared a Roman province, to which Achaëa (*i.e.* Greece) was attached (146 B.C.). Further east, the provincial system, that is to say the policy of annexation, made way even more slowly. The change from a policy of protectorates and buffer-states to one of annexation was partly owing to the proved unworkableness of the former system, partly also to the ever-growing influence of the commercial spirit in Rome itself—a spirit which grew by what it fed on; to which, in the main, must be ascribed the destruction of Carthage and Corinth¹ and the dishonourable treatment of

¹ § 11: *Corinthus patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, extinctum se voluerunt.*

Rhodes. A third factor, less obvious and less capable of evaluation, must also be taken into the account. "Without the possession of a great moral force Rome would not have annexed the world. It was not done by her great generals. Other peoples had just as many as them, and Hannibal was without a rival. Rome did not prevail by force or stratagem, but by the ever-growing power of attraction of a state based on a unique system of law . . . an unconscious magnetism",¹ by virtue of which the Romans of that age were "called to be umpires of the nations and a terror to kings".²

The disinclination of the Romans to face the realities of the situation in the East, and, while putting down internal disorders with the strong hand, to devise a reasonable scheme of control over the instruments of their policy—the provincial governors—entailed disastrous results for themselves, in the rise of Mithridates of Pontus, the development of piracy throughout the Mediterranean, and the growth of the Parthian power. The two first alone concern us in connection with the present oration.

The year 133 B.C., momentous in the domestic and constitutional history of Rome as that of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, saw also the abandonment of the old protectorate system and the creation of the first Roman province in the continent of Asia. In that year Attalus II, the last of his line, bequeathed by will his kingdom of Pergamum (or Pergamus) to the Roman state. Four years later, after the suppression of the pretender Aristonicus, the old Hellenic districts of Mysia, Lydia, Ionia and Caria were formally organized as the province of Asia.³ The new province included the most fertile

¹ Holm, *Greek History*, iv. 350.

² A. W. Schlegel (quoted by Holm, p. 353).

³ Cp. the speech *Pro Flacco*, § 65, *Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia*. Phrygia was incorporated in 116 B.C.

⁴ § 14: *Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine eorum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat.*

capable, and wealthy districts of Asia Minor, and from accounts first ranked as the most valuable asset of the empire. The revenue derived from it was the mainstay of the treasury,¹ and a source of immense profit to the great financial companies (*publicani*) which speculated in its sale.² For the wealth of Asia became, under the régime of C. Gracchus, one of the instruments of the Revolution. It was he who devised the fatal system by which the collection of the tithe (*decuma*) on the contract system was sold by auction in Rome,³ not in the province itself as was the case e.g. in Sicily). In this way Gaius Gracchus bought the support of the upper middle class—large and moderate capitalists known as the *Equites*—"body of men with few ideals but very decided wants".⁴ The scandalous extortion of the *publicani* was but one result in the programme of misgovernment and injustice under which the provincials of Asia groaned. To it fell to be added the rapacity of the Roman governor himself and of the entire official class.⁵ In addition, a host of Roman business men (*negotiatores*) of every kind⁶—to whom their Roman citizenship in their exploitation of the provinces meant money—descended like harpies upon the land, bringing for the hapless natives bankruptcy and enslavement. How lucrative a field the province of Asia was is indicated by the enormous "parasitic population"⁷

¹ § 6: *aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis.*

² § 17: *Nam et publicani . . . suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt.*

³ Cic. Verr. iii. 6. 12, *ensoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiae lege emponia.*

⁴ Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 333.

⁵ § 65: *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterarum gentium propter eorum, quos ad eos per hos annos cum imperio misimus, injurias et iniurias.* See also the foll. §§.

⁶ § 18: *ex ceteris ordinibus homines navi atque industrii partim ipsi Asia negotiantur.*

⁷ The expression is that of Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iv. p. 177 (I note throughout the English edition of 1904).

of Roman and Italian origin settled there for business purposes when Mithridates issued his decree for its termination. The almost unanimous response to the decree is also the best evidence of the bitter hatred with which these immigrants had inspired the natives. The old principle, that Rome did not govern for profit,¹ had been abandoned for a new one, in the light of which the provinces were regarded as "the estates of the Roman people",² and were ill-managed into the bargain. When in Asia Minor the old immemorial conflict of East and West exhibited itself anew in a phase of acute national reaction of the Orientals against the Occidentals, it was little wonder that the champion of this reaction was hailed "the delivering god" by both Greeks and Asiatics.

MITHRIDATES

The man who is thus invested with a deep historical significance³ was Mithridates VI,⁴ surnamed Eupator, who, born about 130 B.C., had succeeded as a boy less than fourteen years to the throne which his father's assassination had left vacant. He traced his descent, on the father's side, from king Darius, son of Hystaspes, and with his Persian blood might well seem to the Asiatics to inherit the claim once made by the Persian kings to the supremacy of Asia. By services to the Greek cities in his kingdom his father had gained the surname of Euergetes ("Benefactor"), and Mithridates Eupator himself had had a Greek education, so that in upbringing, natural endowment, bodily activity, and the grandiose scale of his designs, he presented himself to the Greeks of his age as something of a reincarnation of Alexander the Great. Whether from the first he deliberately set before himself

¹ Cp. Momms. *R. H.* iv. 165.

² Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 7, *quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani.*

³ Cp. Momms. *R. H.* iv. 10, and 421.

⁴ I have retained the commoner spelling; another, perhaps better form is Mithradates (adopted by Momms. *R. H.*).

business of expelling the Romans from Asia and establishing himself as Asiatic monarch ruling over a purely Asiatic empire, is a question that cannot be answered:—

“No one but God and I
Knows what is in my heart”¹—

is true of Mithridates, as of all the other great figures of history whose aims and deeds are known to us only through the medium of a defective and often hostile tradition.

The kingdom of Pontus, or Cappadocia on the Pontus as it was called in earlier times, to distinguish it from the Greater Cappadocia in the interior, had taken its rise during the mutual wars of the successors of Alexander the Great. The first care of Mithridates was to enlarge his borders. This was the easier for him as their struggle with Jugurtha and with the Cimbri and Teutones² distracted the attention of the Romans from the East. Also he had in his service the best military talent of the Greeks of his day. Mithridates extended his power first round the eastern and northern shores of the Black Sea (Pontus), where he appeared as the champion of the once rich Greek cities of the Crimea and the mouth of the Don against the Scythians. Thus Mithridates acquired a second kingdom, called the kingdom of the Bosphorus.³ The nomads of the steppes westwards as far as the Danube entered into relations with him, as did also the Greek cities on the coast to the south of that river. East of the Black Sea he acquired Colchis, and to the south-east Lesser Armenia (the country on the west of the Euphrates). To Tigranes, king of Greater Armenia, he gave his daughter Tigranopatra in marriage, and thus secured an alliance which afterwards stood him in good stead. “Thus the Bosphorus

Hichens, *The Garden of Allah*.

² 60: *ut idem (Marius) cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret.*

³ 9: *et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet.*

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was his granary, Colchis an arsenal full of wood, tar, and hemp, Armenia Minor as it were his acropolis. His ships controlled the Black Sea; Sinope¹ was a naval station and the capital."²

Mithridates was now free to turn his attention to making annexations in Asia Minor itself. On the west of Pontus lay Paphlagonia, the inner country behind the coastal strip which for long had formed part of the Pontic kingdom. Beyond Paphlagonia, to the west, was Bithynia, ruled by Nicomedes II Epiphānes. South of Pontus lay Cappadocia, beyond which was Cilicia. Paphlagonia was now partitioned by the Bithynian and Pontic kings in concert (105 B.C.). Intrigues and counter-intrigues on the part of the two kings for the possession of Cappadocia led to a rupture, and finally to Roman intervention. The propraetor of Cilicia, L. Cornelius Sulla, the future Dictator, advanced across Mount Taurus, expelled the nominee of Mithridates, and set Ariobarzanes on the Cappadocian throne. This was 93 B.C. Scarcely had Sulla left Asia when Tigranes fell upon Cappadocia, at the instigation of Mithridates, and reinstated the Pontic king's nominee. In Bithynia also where Nicomedes II had died, about 91 B.C., and had been succeeded by his son Nicomedes III, Mithridates supported a pretender who by his aid expelled the legitimate king.

Rome was hard pressed at this moment (90 B.C.) by the rising of the Italians. The opportunity was favourable. Mithridates seriously intended to defy the Senate. Nevertheless, when Manius Aquillius was sent simply as an ambassador³ to effect the restoration of both Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, Mithridates gave way at once. It

¹ § 21: *Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis omnibus rebus ornata atque referta.*

² Holm, *Greek History*, iv. 533.

³ § 11: *legatum populi Romani consularem . . . legatum omni supplicio interfectum.*

tar, and difficult to understand his action. "This strange combination of a policy of peace at any price with a policy of conquest was certainly in itself untenable, and was simply fresh proof that Mithridates did not belong to the class of genuine statesmen"—so the modern historian with his criticism.¹ War was actually brought about not by the determination of the two principals concerned, but by the personal efforts of Aquillius himself, who incited Nicomedes, his debtor, to raid Pontic territory. In answer to his complaints Mithridates was warned not to employ his arms against Nicomedes. Precisely the same policy of bear-baiting had been the prelude of the final scene with Carthage. Mithridates, who had now a legal right on his side, reoccupied Cappadocia, and in the spring of 88 B.C. the First Mithridatic War began.

Everywhere Mithridates posed as the champion of Hellenic nationality against the western "barbarians". He was practically certain that in western Asia Minor, owing to Roman misrule, the national sympathy both of Greek cities and of the Asiatic peasantry would be with the king. The ships of the corsairs were ready at his hand to aid in holding the seas against the Roman fleets. The embers of the Italian insurrection might perhaps also be fanned again to fierce flame—though indeed the king's ulterior claims could not at all harmonized with Italian aspirations; to this fact, perhaps, it was due that he did not enter into any direct negotiations with the insurgents, but contented himself with enrolling Roman and Italian refugees in a foreign legion constituting one item of his vast but motley host. The first campaign went all in favour of the king. Nicomedes was so utterly routed that he incontinently abandoned his throne. Lucius Cassius, governor of the province of Asia, Quintus Oppius, governor of Cilicia, and Manius Aquillius, were successively defeated, or

¹ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 25.

deserted by their troops without striking a blow. Mithridates thus remained master not only of Bithynia and Cappadocia, but of the province of Asia, including Pergamus its capital. Practically all western Asia was in his hands; his fleet commanded the Aegean Sea. It was of great importance to the Romans that Rhodes remained loyal and beat off all the king's assaults. Manius Aquillius, whose folly or greed had occasioned the war, was surrendered to Mithridates by the Mytilenaeans. After being dragged about Asia like a beast in chains, he was put to death in Pergamus;¹ according to the story, molten gold was poured down his throat that so he might glut his avarice. "This savage mockery", says Mommsen,² "alone suffices to erase its author's name from the roll of true nobility." Yet the same writer calls Alexander the Great "the most poetical of all heroic figures",³ forgetting the fantastic barbarity of his treatment of the brave defender of Gaza. From Ephesus Mithridates issued a decree to the inhabitants of all the cities which had joined him—to put to death on one and the same day all Italians found within their walls, without distinction of age, sex, or status, to cast forth the corpses unburied, and to confiscate their property.⁴ The decree was carried out almost everywhere, and eight thousand, or as other accounts have it, a hundred and fifty thousand Romans and Italians fell victims to a long hoarded revenge.

The hands of the Roman government all this time were tied by the Sulpician revolution. Sulla, the consul

¹ § 54: *Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit.*

² § 11: *legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit.*

³ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 31.

⁴ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 274.

⁵ § 7: *illa macula [Mithridatico] bello superiore concepta . . . quod . . . cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque curavit.*

B.C., instead of embarking for Asia, had found himself compelled to march on Rome itself. Mithridates was able to extend his schemes to a military occupation of Macedonia and Greece. The Pontic fleet crossed the Aegean Sea to the Piraeus, inflicting on its way a fearful punishment upon the island of Delos, the emporium of Roman commerce and slave-trade.¹ Twenty thousand men, mostly Italians, were massacred, and the women and children sold as slaves—"the families of the slave-dealers learnt what slavery was!"² Athens, under the leadership of Aristion, a philosopher turned despot, declared for the king, and was garrisoned by his general, Archelaus. The rest of Greece followed this example. Never, perhaps, had Rome been in graver difficulties. Italian insurgents, though their cause was by this time manifestly lost, were still stubbornly holding out in Samnium; the Marian party, crushed for the moment, was by no means ready to acknowledge defeat; the Italian war and enormous monetary losses in Asia had brought about a financial crisis the like of which had never been known.³ The result of these embarrassments was that Sulla landed in Epirus in the spring of 87 B.C. with only five weak legions, without a war-chest, and, most serious deficiency of all, without even the nucleus of a fleet. Even Caesar in his "marvellous serenity" never exhibited a more undid self-reliance than did Sulla when he embarked on his desperate task.⁴ The obstinacy and skill of the defence, together with the fact that the Pontic fleet commanded the sea, delayed Sulla before the walls of Athens and the Piraeus (at this time two separate towns) nearly a year. Their capture enabled him to defeat the king's generals in a great battle

¹ 55: *insula Delos . . . quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque opibus commeabant, referta divitiis.*

² *Plin. Nat. Hist. iv. 546.*

³ 29: *cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserunt, scimus Romae esse impedita fidem concidisse.*

⁴ See Momms. *R. H.* iv. 36.

in the plain of the Boeotian Cephissus, not far from Chironia (March, 86 B.C.), and still more decisively in the spring of the following year at Orchomenos in Boeotia (85 B.C.). Both Greece and Macedonia were thereby brought to the king. In the meantime, however, Sulla's position had become ambiguous. He was in fact no longer the general of the army of the Republic, for the revolutionary party was again triumphant in Rome, under Cinna; Sulla had been outlawed, and the Asiatic command given to the consul Lucius Valerius Flaccus¹ even before Sulla's first victory. Flaccus with two legions actually passed through Thessaly and Macedonia on his way to Asia (86 B.C.). At Chalcedon one of his chief officers, Gaius Flavius Fimbria, a scoundrel of the first water, instigated a mutiny of the troops. Flaccus was deposed and murdered at Nicomedia, and Fimbria, who was not without talent, installed as commander-in-chief. He defeated the younger Mithridates, and expelled even the king himself from Pergamus. The king's position was indeed becoming every day more desperate owing to the reaction against his despotism in western Asia Minor. Sulla's arrival in Asia was also now inevitable. His able and energetic officer Lucius Licinius Lucullus had been scouring the Levant at risk of his life the last eight months to raise a fleet. He had got together war-ships in Syria, Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Rhodes, had occupied Cnidus, Colophon, and Chios, and perhaps, if he could, have brought himself to co-operate with Fimbria, might have ended the war at a stroke by the capture of the king himself on his flight from Pergamus.

Under these circumstances all parties were not unwilling to come to terms. When Sulla, in 85 B.C., crossed into Asia peace was concluded on terms which amounted to a restoration of the *status quo* before the outbreak of war. Mithridates had to restore Cappadocia, Bithynia, Asia, and Paphlagonia, to surrender the seventy ships

¹ See Momms. *R. H.* iv. 72, note.

om Ch constituting the fleet of Archelaus, and to pay 3000 talents
ly in indemnity for the expenses of the war. Ariobarzanes
a Boe and Nicomedes were thus restored to their respective king-
ereby loms. Fimbria's troops deserted him, and Fimbria com-
la's osted suicide in the temple of Asklepios at Pergamus.
fact la then regulated the affairs of Asia. The loyal com-
e, for nities were rewarded; the adherents of Mithridates and
ne, und ef instruments of the Italian massacre were executed.
atic coe whole province was required to pay in cash the arrears
us¹ e the tithe which had accumulated for the past five years,
e legio to raise a further sum of 20,000 talents (£4,800,000)
ia on a war-indemnity. This simply meant financial ruin
his ch the already impoverished province. In order to meet
the fise frightful demands the communities were forced to
ccus wrow from Roman money-lenders, with the result that
ria, wten years later their debt had grown to six times its
in-ch ginal amount! One evil which the war had fostered—
led e outrages of the pirate fleets—Sulla took no serious
posit es to check. In Greece also devastation and ruin were
owing years the memorials of his presence. Politically his
a M arrangements were nugatory; the two client kings were
His a as helpless, and the province of Asia as defenceless,
had b efore, while no guarantee had been taken against a
eight val of the Pontic power. Here as in Rome, whither
var-sh returned in 83 B.C. to restore senatorial ascendancy,¹
occup a's measures bore the stamp of his character—cynical
he co ruthless, without a trace of morality or political in-
a, mi t. Sulla was one of the ablest, but surely one of the
the k st men that Rome ever produced.
ne peace was only a truce, as it was never ratified
t unv ome. L. Murena, left in command of the two legions
cro laccus as governor of Asia, took advantage of this to
moun ecute the war on his own account. The pretext was
break Mithridates still retained some part of Cappadocia.
Bithy preparations for an expedition into his Bosporan
ty sdom also gave some colour to the charge of pre-

¹ 8: *ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica . . . revocavit.*

paring to renew the war with Rome.¹ In defiance Sulla's instructions Murena violated Pontic territory. was defeated on the river Halys (82 B.C.), and the Roman garrisons were expelled from Cappadocia. Murena assumed the title of *imperator* for these exploits, and commanded a triumph,² which he actually obtained; but a second message from Sulla forced him to desist from further operations. This episode constitutes the Second Mithridatic War. The peace was renewed (81 B.C.), but its ratification was still withheld; when Sulla died (78 B.C. Mithridates saw that he must give up all hope of its ratification, and continued his preparations for a decisive struggle.³

As in the year 88 B.C., it was the affairs of Bithynia that gave the signal for war. In 75 B.C. Nicomedes III died, and, like Attalus of Pergamus, left his kingdom by will to the Romans. The Senate immediately declared Bithynia a Roman province.⁴ The Romans thus became immediate neighbours of Mithridates, and gained control of the Bosphorus as well as of the Hellespont. At the end of 75 B.C. Mithridates declared war. He strengthened himself by making a formal treaty with Sertorius, who was now at the height of his successes in Spain.⁵ Sertorius agreed to recognize the king's sovereignty over Asia Minor, excepting the province of Asia, and sent him troops and an able officer, Marcus Marius. In return the king transmitted to Spain 3000 talents and forty ships.

¹ § 9: *posteaquam maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes . . . Bosphoranis . . . bellum inferre simularet.* It is true that Cicero refers to this to the time after the episode of Murena, but from other authorities we learn that it also applies to the interval before that episode.

² § 8: *triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate . . . Murenam S. revocavit.*

³ § 9: *Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit, &c.*

⁴ § 5: *Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est.*

⁵ § 9: *usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos quibuscum tum bellum geriebamus.*

us, in Cicero's grandiloquent phrase, "the Atlantic is united with the Euxine".¹ The imposing power of pirates was also once again ranged on the king's side, for since 79 B.C. the Romans had applied themselves with some vigour to checking their depredations.² On the Roman side, the provinces of Cilicia and Asia were assigned to the consul L. Lucullus, with five legions, including the two Valerian legions quartered in Asia since B.C. The other consul, M. Aurelius Cotta, was sent to Bithynia. To secure control of the sea was the task of the praetor Marcus Antonius. The war began, as before, with the defection of the cities and the massacre of the Roman residents. In Bithynia, Cotta was defeated and shut up in Chalcedon. When Lucullus approached, the Thracians withdrew to besiege Cyzicus, situate on an isthmus and connected with the southern shore of the Propontis by a bridge. Cyzicus was a large and wealthy city, the capture of which would have given the king an admirable base of operations by land and sea against Asia.³ The Thracians defended themselves desperately, while Lucullus took up a strong position in the rear of the Pontic army, which thus found itself caught in a trap and entirely dependent on the sea for supplies. Famine and disease in winter compelled the king to disastrous retreat.⁴ To counterbalance this blow a Pontic fleet with 10,000 picked troops under Marcus Marius and other renegade Romans appeared in the Aegean; it was reported that its mission was to effect a landing in Italy and to stir up anew the civil war.⁵ Lucullus annihilated one squadron between

¹ *Pro Mur.* § 32, *ut se Oceanum cum Ponto coniuncturum putaret.*
² Momms. *R. H.* iv. 313 fol.

³ *Pro Mur.* § 33, *Asiae ianuam . . . qua effracta et revolsa, patebat provincia.*

⁴ *Pro Mur.* § 34, *urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cynicenorum urbem esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudo et oppugnatam vehementissime; quam L. Lucullus . . . obsidionis periculis liberavit.*

⁵ *Pro Mur.* § 35, *ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quas ducibus Marianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur, superatamque depressam.*

the mainland and the island of Tenedos, and caught remainder at the little island of Nææ, between Lemnos and Scyros.

Late in 73 B.C. Lucullus entered Pontus, long untrodden by an enemy,¹ continually pressing the king eastward and investing the towns. In the spring of 72 B.C., at Cabira on the Lycus, a defeat of the cavalry of Mithridates caused the dispersal of his army in panic. With difficulty Mithridates himself escaped from the mad rout. He might indeed have been captured had not his pursuit been turned aside to plunder a mule-load of gold—such is a somewhat foolish tale which Cicero works up into a fine parallel.² As it was, he escaped to Comana and thence to the kingdom of Tigranes.³ The Romans overran Pontus and Lesser Armenia, and captured the king's strongholds with their treasures. The Greek maritime towns—Amisus and Sinope in Pontus, Amastris in Paphlagonia, Heraclea in Bithynia—made a stout defence,⁴ supported by the squadrons of the pirates, for two years more after the battle of Cabira; but the power of Mithridates was shattered; the hopes based upon the alliance with Sertorius were vain, for Sertorius himself fell into the hands of his own officers this same year (72 B.C.) while the king's ships on their way home from Sicily and Crete were destroyed by Triarius at Tenedos. Mithridates' son, Machares, deserted him, and as a dependent ruler of the Tauric Chersonese made his peace with the Romans. The Third Mithridatic War was virtually at an end.

¹ § 21: *patet factumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset.*

² § 22: *Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, &c.*

³ § 21: *regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse.*

⁴ § 21: *Sinopen atque Amisum . . . ceterasque urbes Ponti et Pontice deciae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas*—which is exaggeration.

During the interval 72-70 B.C. Lucullus busied himself with the affairs of the province of Asia. For the gradual payment of the arrears of the Sullan indemnity he proceeded by means of equitable taxation, with such success that within four years the cities were free of that frightful burden. The prohibition of exorbitant rates of interest, and of the system of adding arrears of interest to the capital debt, relieved the provincials, but robbed the unscrupulous Roman *negotiatores* of their prey. Lucullus incurred the hostility of the entire capitalist class. He was soon to realize what that meant. Tigranes gave Mithridates asylum, but at first refused to receive him at his court. When, however, Lucullus sent his son-in-law Appius Claudius (70 B.C.) to Antioch in Syria with a demand for the surrender of the fugitive, Tigranes, in high dudgeon at this cavalier treatment of the "King of Kings", changed his attitude, received his son-in-law in great state, and prepared to sweep the Romans into the sea.¹ The mission of Claudius was assigned only to furnish a diplomatic pretext for war with Tigranes, upon which Lucullus had already made up his mind.² It is hardly possible to say how far personal ambition, and how far the political and military necessities of the case contributed to this resolution³—which, indeed, in the face of it was sufficiently foolhardy. Lucullus crossed the Euphrates at Melitene (69 B.C.), marching straight upon the new "City of Tigranes", Tigranocerta, founded on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia as the second capital of the Armenian Empire. Tigranes came to the relief of the city with an

§ 23: *Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit identemque rebus suis confirmavit et adfectum erexit perditumque creavit.*

§ 4: *Mithridate et Tigraue, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus.*

§ 23: *iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacessitas bello neque temptandas putavit.*

Momms. iv. 335 fol. endeavours to justify the action of Lucullus, hardly with success.

immense host, but Lucullus offered him battle with force, as Tigranes himself put it, "too large for embassy, and too small for an army". According to the official bulletin of Lucullus, in this matter also true pupil of Sulla, 16,000 legionaries defeated 250,000 Asiatics and slew 100,000 of them with the loss of only five killed! Tigranocerta was immediately surrendered.

Perhaps Tigranes would now have submitted but for the influence of Mithridates, who was nominally the basis of contention. The war took on a new character.¹ An appeal was made to fanaticism; a religious war was proclaimed, and the peoples of the East were summoned to arms in defence of the holy places which, it was reported, were the real objective of the sacrilegious invader.²

In 68 B.C. Lucullus boldly advanced into the heart of Armenia upon Artaxata, the old capital, on the river Araxes. In the valley of the Arsianias he dispersed the forces of the two kings, but a mutiny of his troops compelled him to retreat with the goal almost in view.³ He fell back into Mesopotamia, and crossing the Tigris captured Nisibis, where he made his winter quarters, compelled to look on inactive whilst Mithridates reconquered his old kingdom.⁴ Marcus Fabius Hadrianus, the

¹ § 23: *noster autem exercitus tametsi urbem ex Tigrani regno cepit et proeliis usus erat secundis*—this is all Cicero has to say of a victory which "remains one of the most brilliant stars in the glorious history of Roman warfare" (Momms. *R. H.* iv. 340).

² § 23: *Cuius in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venisset, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt.*

³ § 23: *opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, facilius locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum adductum.*

⁴ § 23: *Noster exercitus . . . nimia longinquitate locorum ac desideriorum commovebatur.* And § 24: *ut ex illis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam progressio longior quaereretur.*

⁵ § 24: *Mithridates autem et suam manum iam confirmarat,* and § 25: *cum se in regnum suum recepisset . . . in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.*

oman commandant in Pontus, was defeated; all the efforts of C. Triarius to repel the invasion were vain. In the spring of 67 B.C. Lucullus was forced to yield to the urgent entreaties of his lieutenants for help, and to abandon Armenia. He was too late, however, to save Triarius from utter defeat at Ziela.¹

Just at this moment the news arrived from Rome that the intrigues of his enemies had achieved the ruin of Lucullus. Even in the previous year these had been so successful that the combination of two ordinary governorships (*i.e.* of Asia and Cilicia) with the extraordinary command against Mithridates (which Lucullus himself had extended to embrace the Armenian war) had been abrogated. The province of Asia had been assigned to one of the praetors, and that of Cilicia with three legions to the consul Q. Marcius Rex,² Lucullus being restricted to the command against the two kings. Now when news came that a decree of the people gave their charge to those of the troops whose legal term of service had expired,³ *i.e.* primarily to the two mutinous legions, and transferred the chief command in Armenia and Pontus, with the conduct of the war, to one of the consuls of the current year (67 B.C.), Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had in fact already landed in Asia Minor.⁴ When, then, Lucullus called upon his troops to advance against the Armenians in order to forestall their threatened action with the army of Mithridates, they marched indeed, but, on reaching the point where the route into Armenia and that into Cappadocia diverged, the bulk of

§ 25: *nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures Luculli imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor adferret*—which is, of course, hardly to be taken seriously (though Mommsen, *H.* iv. 349, so takes it).

Brother-in-law of Lucullus.

§ 26: *partim militum, qui iam stipendiis confectis erant.*

§ 26: *Lucullus . . . vestro iussu coactus, qui imperii diuturnitati statueretur vetere exemplo putavistis, partim militum . . . misit, partim M'. Glabriori tradidit.*

the army took the latter, and returned to the province of Asia. The results of eight years of brilliant warfare (74-67 B.C.) were lost. "It was a strange, almost incredible issue for a war conducted in a manner so glorious. If we look merely to military achievement hardly any other Roman general accomplished so much with so trifling means as Lucullus."¹ Now Mithridates not only reoccupied practically his whole kingdom, but his cavalry ranged over Cappadocia and Bithynia,² while king Ariobarzanes in vain implored assistance from the three Roman commanders in Asia Minor. At the end of the year the Manilian law transferred the command of the war to Pompeius; and in 66 B.C. Lucullus quitted Asia for Rome.³

POMPEIUS

Cn. Pompeius,⁴ who was thus fated to reap where he had not sown, was born in 106 B.C. From early youth he had been accustomed to arms. At the age of seventeen he served under his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Marsic War and against Cinna.⁵ On the news of Sulla's landing in Italy in 83 B.C., Pompeius, not yet twenty-three years of age, went to Picenum, in which district he had property and personal interest, and raised at his own cost a force which grew to three legions.⁶ After beating

¹ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 350.

² § 5: *Bithyniae . . . vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ariobarzanes . . . totum esse in hostium potestate.*

³ § 5: *Lucillum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere.*

⁴ For a bitter but perhaps essentially just characterization of Pompeius see Momms. *R. H.* iv. 271 fol.

⁵ § 28: *qui e ludo atque e pueritiae disciplinis . . . ad patris exercitum . . . profectus est.*

⁶ § 28: *qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris.*

⁷ § 28: *inveniente adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator relictus in partem hanc. And § 61: Quid tam novum quam adolescentium privatim exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere?*

provin detail the government troops¹ under Cloelius. Gaius
t warfa Carrinas, and Lucius Junius Brutus Damasippus, the
most i extemporized general"² effected a junction with Sulla,
anner who received him with the greeting of "*imperator*", that
vement "as an officer commanding in his own name and not
so mu subordinate but co-ordinate".³ Under Sulla's auspices
thrida e fought in 82 B.C. against Carbo in Italy,⁴ and then,
om, b a spite of his youth, he was entrusted with independent
a,⁵ wh command, as *propraetor*, of six legions⁶ against the
from t remnant of the Marian party in Sicily and Africa. Sicily
the e he subdued with little trouble,⁶ and executed the chiefs of
omma ne Marian party. The essentially contemptible character
s quitt of the man was demonstrated in his treatment of Papirius
Carbo. Notwithstanding the fact that Carbo had once
rotected him against his enemies, Pompeius specially
njoined that he should be brought before him that he
might personally hand him over to the executioner. In
here Africa⁷ Pompeius defeated Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,
youth Sinna's son-in-law, and Hiarbas, who had seized the
ventee Numidian throne—"in forty days after his landing all
, in t was at an end".⁸ When he was instructed to disband
f Sulla his army he refused, and demanded a triumph, an honour
ty-th he h

¹ § 61: *Rem optime ductu suo gerere? Gessit.*

² The phrase is Mommsen's, *R. H.* iv. 79.

³ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 79.

⁴ § 28: *Civile . . . bellum.* And § 30: *Testis est Italia . . . huius
virtute et subsidio . . . liberatam.*

⁵ § 28: *ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator* certainly
fers in part to this.

⁶ § 30: *testis [est] Sicilia quam multis undique cinctam periculis non
errore belli sed consilii celeritate explicavit.* And § 61: *Quid tam
racter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti . . . imperium
que exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea
provincia administrandum?*

⁷ § 28: *Africanum . . . bellum.* And § 30: *testis [est] Africa, quae
agnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit.*
p. § 61: *bellum in Africa maximum confecit.*

⁸ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 94.

to which as an extraordinary magistrate he had, according to precedent, no claim. Half-contemptuously Sulla yielded to his importunity, and Pompeius was able to boast of being the only Roman who triumphed as a simple *equites* (79 B.C.).¹ It was Sulla himself also who saluted Pompeius on his return with the epithet "*Magnus*".

In 78 B.C. Sulla died, and M. Aemilius Lepidus tried by force of arms to subvert the Sullan constitution. The Senate was compelled to confer upon Pompeius, who being now only twenty-eight was too young for the highest offices, and perhaps too young for any office at all, an extraordinary command (77 B.C.).² He defeated Marcus Brutus and invested him in Mutina; on the fall of the town Brutus, notwithstanding the safe-conduct promised to him, was put to death by order of Pompeius.³

Pompeius next insisted upon being appointed to the command in Spain, where the war with Q. Sertorius was raging. In the dearth of able men in official positions⁴ the Senate was forced to yield, in disregard of all the rules which Sulla had laid down in connection with the qualifications for office.⁵ "Not from the people which constitutionally ought to have been consulted in a case where a private man was to be invested with supreme magisterial power,⁶ but from the Senate, Pompeius

¹ § 61: *Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphar?*

² Cicero makes no reference to this. His audience would have little stomach for Pompeius as champion of oligarchical supremacy against Lepidus, in whose platform the restoration of the Tribunate was the plank.

³ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 291.

⁴ § 62: *Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur?*

⁵ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 116.

⁶ Cp. the case of P. Scipio in 211 B.C., who was given consular authority for the Spanish War before he had been Consul or Praetor, but by the people in the *Comitia Centuriata*.

According to the received proconsular authority and the chief command in Hither Spain."¹ On his way to the Pyrenees he dealt with disturbances in southern Gaul, exploits which with characteristic vanity he magnified beyond all seeming.² In Spain, where for the first time in his life he had to deal with an opponent of genuine talent in war, Pompeius more than once tasted the bitterness of defeat. For five years (76-72 B.C.) the war dragged on, until Sertorius was assassinated.³ Returning to Italy in 71 B.C., Pompeius was just in time to catch and destroy five thousand fugitives from the defeated army of Spartacus. The credit, such as it was, for bringing to an end the Servile or Gladiatorial War belonged to Marcus Crassus, but here also his vanity made Pompeius boast that he had plucked up the war to the roots.⁴

Still at the head of his veteran army, Pompeius now demanded not only a triumph but the consulship. He had not yet held any ordinary magistracy, not even the quaestorship, and was not yet a member of the Senate. According to the law, the consulship could only be reached by way of the lesser ordinary magistracies, and on the other hand, only one who had been invested with the ordinary supreme power could triumph. A coalition of Pompeius, Crassus, and the democratic party, forced the hands of the Senate. So Pompeius a second time

have little again
e was

§ 28: *Transalpinum . . . bellum.* And § 30: *testis [est] Gallia, quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione defactum est.*

§ 28: *Hispaniense . . . bellum.* And § 30: *testis [est] Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit.*
§ 10: *alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est.*

§ 28: *servile . . . bellum.* And § 30: *testis [est] iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur . . . quod . . . adventu sublatum ac sepultum.*

triumphed as a simple *eques*, on Dec. 31st, 71 B.C., the day before he entered on his consulship.¹

With the consulship of Pompeius some of the main features of the Sullan constitution came to an end. In particular the Tribunate was restored to its old powers and the evil Gracchan system of farming the revenue of Asia was re-established, in order to secure the interests of the capitalists. In a word, "the system of Sulla which had based the monopoly of power by the nobility on the political annihilation of the mercantile aristocracy and of demagogism, was thus completely overthrown".² This same year the Romans saw another of those theatrical spectacles which are characteristic of the whole career of Pompeius. The office of Censor having been restored with all its old powers, the *Recognition of the Equites* or review of the *Equites* in the *Forum* was once more held. The whole corps filed past the Censors man by man, each knight leading his horse by the bridle, and the herald called his name. Pompeius was seen approaching with the insignia of consul, his lictors preceding him to clear the way. Asked in due form if he had performed the military service required by the law, Pompeius replied in a loud voice: "I have performed all, and all under my own command as *Imperator*"; upon which there was great applause.³

During the two years succeeding his consulship, Pompeius, refusing to assume the governorship of an ordinary province in the usual course, lived in Rome as a private citizen, taking little part in politics openly. It was the war with the pirates that enabled him once more to assume an extraordinary position.

¹ § 62: *Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legitimus solutus consul ante feret, quam ullum [alium] magistratum per legem capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut [iterum] eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet?*

² Momms. *R. H.* iv. 381.

³ There is probably a reference to this scene in § 28, *cuius adolescentulus . . . non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis . . . est eruditus.*

THE PIRATES

The maritime war with the pirates was indeed part and parcel of the Mithridatic War. From the earliest times chronic evil in the eastern Mediterranean, piracy had obtained through Rome's neglect of her responsibility for the policing of the seas an extraordinary solidarity of organization. Unless the accounts are exaggerated—which indeed is very probable—the pirates had at their mercy the commerce of the *ire* Mediterranean.¹ The most serious feature was that piracy of late years had totally changed in character. The freebooters constituted a genuine piratical state. Their fleets were the refuge of the broken men of all nations—"the hunted fugees of all vanquished parties";² so that in a sense the existence of this robber-state was a standing protest against the social and political evils of the age, and is to be condemned off-hand as a mere fortuitous confluence of men of criminal instincts. The robbers called themselves, or were called, Cilicians, from the fact that the rugged coasts of southern Asia Minor, lying withal conveniently upon the flank of the great routes of sea-borne commerce, formed their main resort. The Greek cities in this region, like Side in Pamphylia, entered into definite relations with the pirates, providing them with a market for the sale of captives and for the purchase of luxuries—for the pirates did not surely plunder towns and temples for the sake of mere hoards. The pirates thus formed a genuine political power, whose alliance was sought, for example, by Mithridates and by Sertorius. The economic significance of the pirates for Rome herself is often overlooked. The immense and steadily increasing demand for slave-labour in Italy was supplied principally by the pirates through slave-dealers resident in Delos. Hence the government winked at their enormities until the evil attained

¹Cp. Momms. iv. 307 fol.

²Momms. iv. 309.

monstrous proportions.¹ The very real assistance rendered by the pirates to Mithridates awoke the Senate, perhaps through Sulla,² to the dangers of the situation.

In 79 B.C., one of the consuls, Publius Servilius Vatia was sent to Cilicia.³ He defeated the pirates, destroyed many of their fortresses, and penetrated to their inland fastnesses in the Isaurian highlands on the northern face of Mount Taurus. This war, which ended in 75 B.C. gained for Servilius and his descendants the surname of Isauricus. Harried in Asia, the corsairs made Crete the head-quarters, and rendered assistance more zealous than before to Mithridates in his decisive struggle with Rome. Next the praetor Marcus Antonius, son of the Antonius who, thirty years before, had first chastised the Cilician corsairs, and laid the foundations of the province of Cilicia, was by extraordinary decree entrusted with supreme command of naval operations against the pirates; he was defeated by them off Cydonia in Crete in 74 B.C., and without having accomplished anything died in 71 B.C. In 69 B.C. the proconsul Q. Metellus appeared in Cretan waters in order to conduct the war. In two years (68, 67 B.C.) the entire island was reduced after strenuous warfare, and Metellus assumed the surname of Creticus—"nevertheless the power of the Roman in the Mediterranean was never lower, that of the corsairs never higher, than in those years".⁴ For the power of the pirates resided in their fleets on the high seas, and was not to be broken by sending legions against their strongholds on land.⁵ The absolute failure of the sen

¹ See §§ 31-33. 55.

² The famous temple of Hera at Samos was plundered by the pirates while Sulla was in Asia; cp. § 33: *aut Samum . . . captas esse*.

³ Cp. § 68: *est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium . . . peritissimus P. Servilius*.

⁴ § 46: *a communi Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula non imperator exercitusque esset*.

⁵ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 354.

⁶ Cp. Momms. *R. H.* iv. 368.

cial policy both on land and on sea was manifest by B.C.¹ In the beginning of that year the Pontic army the Romans was destroyed, the Armenian army broken the seas commanded by the pirates, and the price of grain in Italy enhanced to such a degree that famine was seriously threatening.² The crisis brought Pompeius more to a supreme position in the state.

In 67 B.C. a tribune, Aulus Gabinus—"a man ruined in finances and morals, but a dexterous negotiator, a bold actor, and a brave soldier"³—brought forward a proposal to establish a general imperial fleet under the exclusive command of a single man.⁴ A single general, to be named by the Senate from men of consular rank, was to be appointed for a term of three years over the whole Mediterranean, exercising also concurrently with the respective governors supreme command over the coasts for a distance of fifty miles inland. A staff of twenty-five *praefecti* of senatorial rank, with praetorian powers, selected the commander-in-chief, was also provided for by the

For the purpose of raising troops and ships, the general appointed was to have absolute disposal of the revenue of the empire and of the existing treasure both in Rome and in the provinces, with the immediate command of a credit vote of 144 millions of sesterces (400,000).⁵ In a word, these proposals amounted to the practical abolition of the Senate by the institution of an office with all but unlimited financial and military powers—an office "for which it was left to the future

54: *At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille vir Romanus . . . maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis imperii caruit.*

44: *tanta repente vilitas [annonae] ex summa inopia et caritate pauperum conculcata est.*

omma. R. H. iv. 392.

52: *contra virum fortem A. Gabinium . . . cum is de uno praetore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset.*

omma. R. H. iv. 388.

(B 102)

to find the fitting name, but which in reality even no involved in it the monarchy".¹

Quintus Catulus, the most respected member of the Senate, and the natural mouthpiece of the Optimates and Q. Hortensius,² with one exception the most powerful pleader in Rome, in vain opposed the measure. Amid scene of extraordinary enthusiasm³ the proposal became law; and the nomination of Pompeius as virtually master of the empire was made by the Senate—in view of the popular feeling there was no other choice. Immediate after the passing of the law the price of grain fell rapidly to normal⁴—"an evidence of the hopes attached to the grand expedition and its victorious leader".⁵ This explanation is surely absurd and economically false. It is clear that the price of grain must have been artificially inflated by the merchants—"whose heart was in the money-bags"⁶ in this instance also, as in that of the slave-traffic. The fact that in three months⁷ Pompeius completely cleared both divisions of the Mediterranean is proof, not of the *incredibilis ac divina virtus*⁸ of Pompeius, but rather of complete inability on the part of the

¹ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 391.

² § 52: *Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa . . . et in senatu contra virum fortem A. Gabinium . . . et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti.*

³ § 44: *cum universus populus Romanus referto foro completis omnibus templis . . . unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit.*

⁴ § 44: *qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator tanta repente vilitas [annonae] ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vi summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset.*

⁵ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 395.

⁶ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 396.

⁷ § 35: *undequingagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romanum Ciliciam adiunxit.* Add to this forty days, for clearing the Western Mediterranean, and including a short stay in Rome (cp. § 35: *inde se in Italiam recepisset*).

⁸ § 33, repeated in § 36.

ven no e government and the people to gauge correctly the
al necessities of the case.¹
The final action with the pirates had been fought off
ape Coracesium in western Cilicia, so that Pompeius now
power and himself near the theatre of the eastern war, with
Amid ore than two years of his command to run.² The war
became self was now practically at a stand-still,³ for Lucullus
y mas could do nothing with the men still under arms in Asia,
v of the ile Glabrio refused to assume responsibility.⁴
mediate In 66 B.C. Gaius Manilius,⁵ "an utterly worthless and
l rapid significant man",⁶ a Tribune of the Commons, proposed
d to the recall Glabrio and Marcius Rex, and to transfer their
This eice, as well as the conduct of the war, to Pompeius,
e. It eparently without any time limit. Pompeius was also
rtificial have full authority to make war, and to strike treaties
in the peace and alliance in the East, and was to retain all
t of the powers conferred by the Gabinian law. The bill of
ompe anilius, in fact, merely rounded off and completed the
rrane binian law by adding what was lacking to make Pom-
of Po us absolute master of the Roman world. Under it
of be would dispose as absolutely of the Roman land forces
he already did of the Roman navy. Only among the
h and dry Optimates, represented by Catulus and
rtensius,⁷ was open opposition to the proposals of
anilius displayed. The bill became law by a practically

Cp. Momms. *R. H.* iv. 401 fol.

50: *haec quoque oportunitas adiungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, habeat exercitum, &c.* Cp. § 45.

45: *Huius adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflatum victoria inivit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit.* He pretends that the mere presence of Pompeius checked the
ations of the two kings!

5: *huic qui successerit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum ministrandum.*

69: *C. Manili . . . istam tuam legem . . . comprobo.*
Cp. Momms. *R. H.* iv. 396.

51: *At enim vir clarissimus . . . Q. Catulus, itemque . . . Q. Censius ab hac ratione dissentiunt.*

unanimous vote. "Never since Rome stood had such power been united in the hands of a single man. The Gabinio-Manilian proposals terminated the struggle between the Senate and the popular party, which the Sempronian law had begun sixty-seven years before."¹

It was in connection with the bill of Manilius that Cicero made his first purely political speech.²

CICERO

Marcus Tullius Cicero, born on Jan. 3rd, 106 B.C., the *municipium* of Arpinum, was of an equestrian family which up to his time had not been ennobled by office. He had therefore to contend with the jealousy of the hereditary aristocracy of office which practically monopolized the curule magistracies. The only avenue to office of the higher grades therefore lay through the Law-courts; and Cicero at the age of twenty-six (80 B.C.) made his first public appearance as a pleader in a criminal case where he defended Sex. Roscius on a charge of parricide. His growing reputation as a pleader, and the connections made by his practice, enabled him to set foot on the first rung of the political ladder in 75 B.C., when he gained the Quaestorship. As Quaestor in Sicily Cicero won the respect of the provincials, and to him they turned five years later (70 B.C.) to conduct the impeachment of Verres who is a typical representative of the corruption of Roman officials abroad to which allusion is made in the present speech.³ The attack on Verres was really

¹ Momms. *R. H.* iv. 398.

² Hence the speech, in England at any rate, is usually known as *pro lege Manilia*. The best MSS. call it the speech *de imperio Pompei*.

³ Cp. § 4: *equitibus Romanis . . . qui ad me pro necessitudine, quod mihi est cum illo ordine.*

⁴ § 13: *quod ceteras in provincias eius modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant.* also §§ 37 fol., 41, 64-67.

dictment of the senatorial oligarchy, and as such marks the real beginning of Cicero's career as a politician. Its success meant much also for Cicero as an advocate, for his rival at the Bar, Q. Hortensius, had undertaken the defence of Verres. Political promotion soon followed; in 67 B.C. Cicero became Curule Aedile, and in 66 B.C. praetor. During his year of office he presided over the *quaestio de rebus repetundis*.

In spite of his solemn disclaimer,¹ there can be no doubt that Cicero's support of Manilius was largely dictated by the necessity of securing the favour of Pompeius and the people, in view of his own candidature for the consulship. Personal interest was his leading motive, veiled under the pretence of gratitude to the electors² by that species of self-deception which comes naturally to the candidate for public honours in all ages. This, however, is not a warrant for accusing Cicero as a "political trimmer"—an accusation levelled against him by Dion Cassius, and re-echoed by Mommsen.³ There is more truth in Mommsen's description of him as "belonging properly to no party or—which was much the same—to the party of material interests", by which is meant the Order to which the *publicani* and *negotiatores* belonged, both of them so vitally interested in the downfall of Lucullus and the restoration of the old state of things in Asia. Since the enfranchisement of Italy, the Equestrian Order, represented in the Capital and in politics chiefly by the above-mentioned groups, included the men of substance

¹ § 70: *neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam mihi per hanc causam con-
liari putem, neque quo mihi . . . adiumenta honoribus quaeram.*
at cp. Q. Cicero in the *de pet. cons.* § 5: *si quid locuti populariter
deamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse, ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungere-
mus, ut eum, qui plurimum posset, aut amicum in nostra petitione
haberemus, aut certe non adversarium.*

² See § 2.

³ Dio. Cass. xxxvi. 43. ἀμφότερίσι τε γὰρ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἐστὶ
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζονται ἐπαιττε. Cp. Mom: 3.
470.

in all the Italian towns, as well as the country landowners. In so far as Cicero voiced the ideals of a class, they were the ideals of the Italian middle class at the apex of which stood the Equestrian Order. Between this class and the senatorial aristocracy (the *nobiles*) there was no love lost, while on the other hand the possibilities of the ultra-democratic programme could only fill it with dread. It was this middle party in reality which carried Cicero to the consulship in 64 B.C., although circumstances forced the high and dry Optimates in line with it for the moment. Cicero's own political creed was that salvation for the state lay in the permanence of that combination. His watchwords were *senatus auctoritas* and *ordinum concordia*. "He advocated the maintenance of the old constitution, but not as it was understood by the extreme politicians of the right and left."¹ The Senate of which he dreamt was a Senate purified by the experience of the last eighty years, governing Rome and the empire with the consent and loyal support of "the true Roman people" of Italy, the elimination of the fatal influence of the "mob of the *Forum*". Pompeius was to be the right arm of this combination; and Cicero himself, it must not be forgotten, was to be the Laelius of this new Scipio. Inasmuch as in his speech on behalf of the Manilian bill he was addressing precisely the degenerate and hopelessly incompetent mob which he despised, Cicero cannot be acquitted of a certain disingenuousness, but that is an inevitable outcome of the conditions of public life.

The treatment of the case by Cicero was in conformity with the attendant circumstances. The aim of the speech was not to convince, but to give noble and adequate expression to a conviction long since formed in the heart of his audience. Hence his own declaration of his theme—*dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiis*

¹ Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 226.

virtute;¹ but if his aim had been to give a really
 statesmanlike discussion he should have come to close
 quarters with the question whether it was expedient for
 the state to entrust powers so wide to a single man; the
 speech takes this for granted, and is in fact based upon
petitio principii. That anxiety to secure efficiency of
 administration made the populace eager to consent to
 practical subversion of the constitution—that the hope
 of the moderate Optimates of securing the allegiance of
 Pompeius could only be realized at the price of surrender-
 ing true Republican government, simply never occurred
 Cicero. To accuse him of bartering his patriotism
 for popularity is to misread his whole career. We may
 with justice impugn his political capacity and insight,
 but never, save in merest details, his political morality.
 The truth is that of all careers the political was that
 best adapted to the talents of Cicero; he had not in
 him the makings of a statesman. The parallelism be-
 tween his life and character and those of Demosthenes
 is curiously close, but in nothing closer than in that
 "purblind patriotism" which refused to read the signs
 of the times, clinging with pathetic loyalty to the delusion
 that a people can renew its youth, and by an effort of
 will on the part of individuals regain that energy, that
 sense of responsibility and that lofty patriotism which
 characterized its undegenerate days.

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6-19 A The nature of the war

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14-16 c. State revenue

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a {scientia 28

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d {felicitas 47-50

49 1. Hence Pompey should

2. ^{specially} appointed

3. Also he is on the spo

M. TULLI CICERONIS

DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

SIVE

PRO LEGE MANILIA

AD QUIRITES ORATIO

Chapter I

This is Cicero's first political speech

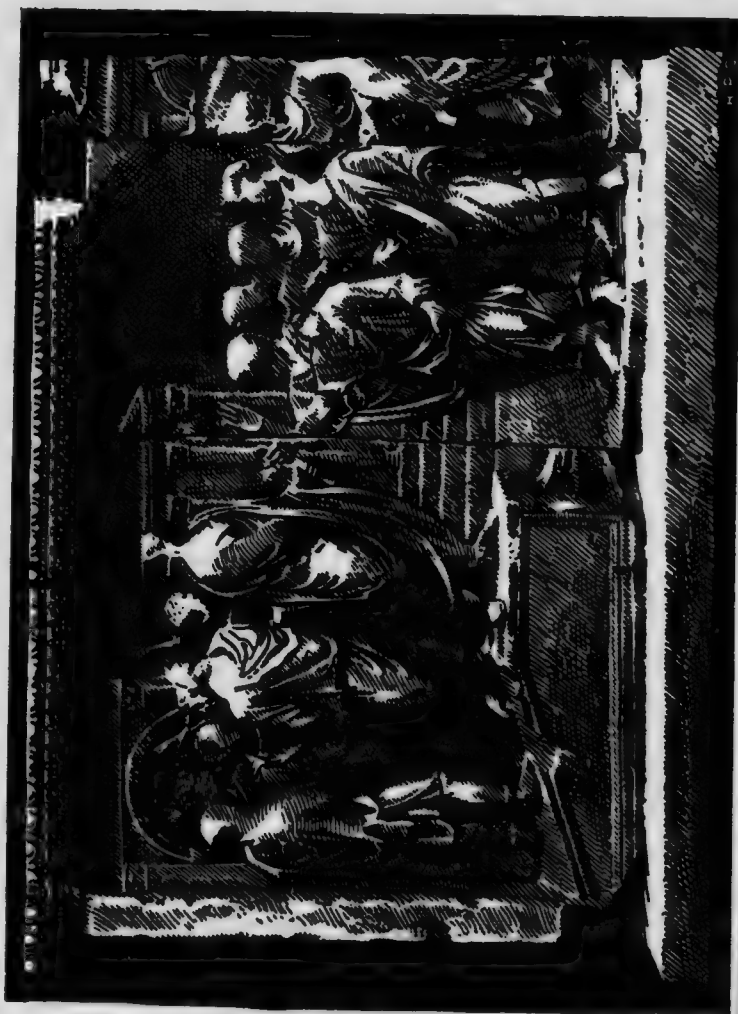
1. Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus
ester multo iucundissimus, hic autem locus ad
gendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est
suis Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper
optimo cuique maxime patet, non mea me voluntas
huc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate sus-
ceptae prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea [per aetatem]
pondum huius auctoritatem loci attingere auderem
atueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, ela-
poratum industria adferri oportere, omne meum tem-
us amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi.

*hitherto his activity has been confined to the law-courts, and
his election to the praetorship indicates the popular
approval of his course. Duty now calls him into the
arena of politics*

2. Ita neque hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab iis,

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10 qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor
 12 13 14 15 16
 17 18
 privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus e



28 29 26 24 25 23
 vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus
 Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum te praes
 5 primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, fac



intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me iudicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatis me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandantes esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu pro cotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit adferre, certe si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar, quod eam mihi dederunt, et si quid in dicendo consequi possum, illis ostendam potissimum, qui et quoque fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse duxerunt.

The merits of Pompeius constitute an unique theme

3. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure et video, quod in hac insolita [mihi] ex hoc loco rationis dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deest nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeio singulari eximiaque virtute; huius autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

Chapter II

A dangerous war is being waged in Asia Minor. There is but one who is adequate to the task

4. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac locis a duobus potentissimis regibus adfertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter laceratus occisionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitratur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui

*Narratio
- end of sec 5.*

*and on account of
intimacy*

[Cap. II]

PRO LEGE MANILIA

5

et quae pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine
 usam rei publicae, periculaque rerum suarum
 tulerunt: (5) Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia
 antum, vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ario-



Coin of Tigranes

rzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus,
 tum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lucullum
 agnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui
 ccesserit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum
 ministrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus
 id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti,
 ndem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea
 minem.

The character of the war and the interests involved

8. Causa quae sit, videtis: nunc quid agendum
 considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere
 deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore
 ligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejus
 quod, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque
 ammare ad persequendi studium debeat: in quo
 situr populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a maioribus

Confirmatio
 (a) 5-19

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¹³ cum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in ¹⁴ militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque ¹⁵ amicorum, pro qua multa maiores vestri magna ¹⁶ gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi ¹⁷ Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis ¹⁸ pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur ¹⁹ bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum ²⁰ et rei publicae causa consulendum.

In regard

Chapter III

'Wiping something off a slate'

¹ Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeterea ² ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est



Coin of Mithridates

³ vobis illa macula [Mithridatico] bello superiore ⁴ cepta, quae penitus iam insedit ac nimis inveterata ⁵ in populi Romani nomine quod is, qui uno die tot ⁶ in Asia tot in civitatibus uno nuntio atque una significatione ⁷ [litterarum] cives Romanos necant ⁸ et crudeliterque curavit, non modo adhuc poenam ⁹ nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo

Confessionis

3-17

decursum

crimine

sufficit

in tempore annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et
 atque regnat, ut non se Ponto neque Cappadociae late-
 gna, his occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno
 populi etque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce
 versari. *Concerned in*

5

Troubles in Italy have given Mithridates respite

8. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege conten-
 erunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae,
 non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla,
 triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi
 et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut
 ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen
 his imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt,
 et gloria danda, quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab
 illo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam
 nulla revocavit.

15

Chapter IV

*Mithridates has used the interval to organise a world-wide
 combination against Rome did not employ all*

9. Mithridates autem omne reliquum *this time in for getting the old*
 et oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad, *comparationem*
 ovi contulit; qui posteaquam maximas aedificasset
 et nassetque classes exercitusque permagnos, quibus-
 amque ex gentibus potuisset, *comparasset* et se
 osporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, *recreant*
 etque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos, *pretend*
 ces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum
 bus in locis disiunctissimis maximeque diversis
 ad consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra
 arique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti
 imperio dimicaretis.

Pompeius crushed Sertorius, and Lucullus was partially successful against Mithridates. Contrast between the present and the past

10. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmitati ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati eius, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpa, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea, neque falsa adfecta esse videatur; (11) de vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

sublime entertain

Substitute

Chapter V

15. Maiores nostri saepe, mercatoribus aut naviculariis nostris iniuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt; vos, tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, extinctum esse voluerunt; vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit. Illi libertatem imminutam civium Romanorum non tulerunt; vos ereptam vitam neglegetis? Ius legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt; vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis?

lastus

The existence of the empire is at stake

12. Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam
vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum
sit id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.
Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum
e discrimen vocatur, quo id tandem animo ferre



Coin of Ariobarzanes I

betis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex,
socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminet duo
ges toti Asiae non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed
iam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem
omnes cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium
spectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur;
operatorem certum a vobis deprecere, cum praesentim
vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque id se
cere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur.

Pompeius alone can save it, and he alone is demanded

13. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos, unum
esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et cum
propter esse, quo etiam carent acrius; cuius
ventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad mariti-

(B 102)

*But makes it harder to be deprived of
him*

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mum bellum venerat, tamen impetus hostium repres-
 sos esse intellegunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam
 libere loqui non licet, taciti rogant, ut se quoque
 [sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios] dignos existi-
 5 metis, quorum salutem tan viro commendetis, atque
 hoc etiam magis, quod ceteras in provincias eius
 modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab
 hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes
 sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differ-
 10 ant, hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident
 tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta hu-
 manitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos
 ille diutissime commoretur.

Chapter VI

*Self-interest demands your intervention, for Asia is the
mainstay of the revenue*

14. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi iniuria laces-
 15 siti, maiores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum
 Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos ste-
 diosius convenit, iniuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem
 una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praeser-
 sertim cum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur.
 20 Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites
 tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tuendas vi-
 contenti esse possimus; Asia vero tam opima est et
 fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum
 et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum
 25 quae exportentur, facile omnibus terris antecellat.
 Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et be-
 utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non
 modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis
 defendenda.

Sensitiveness of the revenue

15. Nam in ceteris rebus, cum venit calamitas, cum detrimentum accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiamsi inruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecora relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. 10

Both the tax-payers and the tax-farmers must be protected

16. Quo tandem (igitur) animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint, cum una excursio equitatus per brevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit, cum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portibus atque in custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis non solum, ut ante vobis, calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos? 20

Chapter VII

In protecting the tax-farmers you protect the class which is the real bond of the entire social fabric

17. Ac ne illud quidem vobis neglegendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cum essem belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona 25

civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent; etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exeret illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus.

Other ranks of society are also involved in the danger; their loss will be the public loss

Save out the soldiers and the comitia after publicans

These are the only ones in the election of the work.

10 18. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines navi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum [eorum] civium calamitate prohibere sapientiae videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica seiunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert, nos publicanis, *his* amissis, vectigalia *alio* postea victoria recuperare; neque enim 20 isdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem neque aliis voluntas propter timorem.

Experience should have taught us that the money-market of Rome is intimately connected with the financial situation in Asia

19. Deinde, quod [nos] eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates, initio belli Asiatici docuit, certe id quidem calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. 25 Nam tum, cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserunt, scimus Romae solutione impedita fidem con-

cidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; rueret illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium coniunctae cum re publica defendantur.

Chapter VIII

This is not one of our 'little wars'; we must not underestimate it. In spite of the brilliant achievements of Lucullus the danger is still formidable

Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belligenus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime elaborandum est, ne forte ea vobis, quae diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intellegant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico eius adventu maximas Mithridati copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cyzicenorū oppressam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime: quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsequiis periculis liberavit: (21) ab eodem imperatore

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Manitudo

Confirmitio
(18) 19-21

classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata rapetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas, patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fulset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant



View of Walls of Cyzicus

domicilia regis omnibus rebus ornata ac repleta, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse; atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc concessi laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut haec vos intellegatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrebant legi atque causae, Lucillum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

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Medea on Voyage with Argonauts
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Chapter IX

Mithridates eluded capture—partly through our own fault

82. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quem ad modum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim adque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas a maioribus acceperat et ipse bello superavit ex tota Asia direptas in suam regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio maeror, hoc laetitia retardavit.

He has effected a combination with Tigranes, and our aims are suspected in the Far East

23. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et adflictum crexit perditumque recreavit. Cuius in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plura etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatas sunt. Erat enim metus iniectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacescendas bello neque temptandas putavit; erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fassi locuple-

tissimi et religiosissimi diriplendi causa in eas opas
nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes
multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu



Asia Minor, showing extent of kingdom of Mithridates, with that of Tigranes

concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus tametsi
urbem ex Tigrani regno cepit et proelium usque
erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac
desiderio suorum commovebatur.

*The magic of his royal name aided him in his darkest hour,
while the victorious career of Lucullus suffered inter-
ruption*

24. Hic iam plura non dicam: sit enim illud
extremum, ut ex illis locis a militibus nostris reditus
magis maturus quam progressio longior quaereretur. 25
Mithridates autem et suam manum iam confirmarat,
[et eorum, qui ex ipsius regno collegerant,] et
magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et

nationum iuvabatur. Nam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes adiciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut illud nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur.

The tables were turned—but I draw a veil over our disaster.

25. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolomis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam, cum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, præterire me nostram calamitatem, quæ tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures Luculli imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor adferret.

Lucullus has been recalled; Glabrio has taken over the remnant of his defeated army. This is enough to show the gravity of the crisis

26. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimæque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis moderi fortasse potuisset, vestro iussu coactus, qui imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partim militem, qui iam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partim M. Glabroni tradidit. Multa prætereo consulto, sed et vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod coniungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integre gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso.

*badde of
Zila*

*indirect
Ciceron*

Chapter X

Rome possesses but one general competent to deal with Mithridates, and that is Pompeius

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27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quale hoc esset bellum—genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum; restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus præficiendo dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quempnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis? Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quæ res est, quæ cuiusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit?

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What makes a great general? Firstly, technical knowledge. From his youth upwards Pompeius has had unique experience

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28. Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque e pueritiæ disciplinis bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiæ disciplinam profectus est, qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adulescentia maximus ipse exercitus imperator; qui sæpius cum hoste conflixit quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias con-

Confessionatio
 (C/27-50) China of leader
 U.S. Library

Scientia

fecit quam alii concupiverunt: cuius adulescentia scientiam rei militariae non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense [mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus], servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae huius viri scientiam fugere possit.

Chapter XI

No other general, either past or present, exhibits the sum total of soldierly qualities in so high a degree as Pompeius

29. Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest par inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut illi dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo, quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audimus, non fuerunt.

Italy, Sicily, Africa, Gaul, and Spain bear witness to his merits. Pompeius it was who reasserted Rome's dominion over the seas

30. Testis est Italia, quam ille [ipse] victor Sulla huius virtute et subsidio confectus est liber tam; testis [est] Sicilia, quam multis undique cincta

29-42
Virtus

tia a periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate ex-
 ed suscitavit; testis [est] Africa, quae magnis oppressa
 s, non hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit;
 enique testis [est] Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in
 rueret Hispaniam Gallorum internecione patefactum est; 5
 ansal testis [est] Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes
 que ex hoc superatos prostratosque contexit; testis [est]
 ellum, iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello tacro
 n non periculoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente
 nullam expectavit, quod bellum expectatione eius attenuatum 10
 quaeque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepul-
 tum; (31) testes nunc vero iam omnes sunt orae atque
 omnes terrae, gentes, nationes, maria denique omnia
 cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus
 atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos
 annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus
 esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis pavi-
 ravit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo
 committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum
 mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, 20
 tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum quis
 unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus
 uno anno aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore
 committi posse?

*The pirates were a terror, not only to the subjects of Rome,
 but to her own armies and officials*

Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus
 liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum
 fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classi-
 bus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas
 esse desertas, quam multas aut metu relictas aut a
 praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? 17

Chapter XII

Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hosce annos clausum fuisse dicam, cum exercitus vestri numquam Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint?

after (See NOTE)

Even Italian towns and the f- of Rome herself suffered from their ravages

33. Capidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus atque eos portus, quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestatem scialis? An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum ex Miseno autem eius ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea [ibi] bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublato? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, cum prope inspectantibus vobis classis eadem consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa ea? Pro di immortales! tantumpe unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum

class⁶em hostium videb⁴atis, n¹⁹unc nullam intra¹¹ Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiat¹⁴is?

The western portion of the Mediterranean was cleared by Pompeius with marvellous rapidity

34. Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tantu belli impetus navem gavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adit, Africam exploravit, inde Sardiniam cum classe venit atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit.

The cleansing of the eastern portion culminated in wholesale surrender and the addition of a new province to the empire

35. Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia [Transalpina] praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus, Italiae duobus maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit, ipse autem ut Brundisio profectus est, unde quinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit; omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius huius se imperio ac potestati dederunt; idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditiois non ademit obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum,

quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur,
Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere
suscepit, media aestate confecit.

Chapter XIII

*Such are the qualities of Pompeius the general; on a par
with them are the virtues of Pompeius the man*

36. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus im-
peratoris. Quid? ceterae, quas paulo ante com-
memorare coeperam, quantae atque quam multae
sunt? Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac
perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt
artes eximiae huius administreae comitesque virtutis.
10 Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse impera-
tores, quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia,
quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta
humanitate! quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio
consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites,
15 sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per
sese cognosci atque intellegi possunt.

*Clean-handedness—conspicuously lacking in all others who
have commanded Roman armies in recent times*

37. Quem enim possumus imperatorem ullo in
numero putare, cuius in exercitu centuriatus venēat
atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut
20 amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam ex
aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut
propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus distri-
serit aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reli-
querit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut
25 agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint; ego autem

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POMPEY

From the bust in Naples Museum

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10' Skücklin

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nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit coniteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum est, nostri exercitus adferant, quis ignorat?

From the experiences of the country-towns in Italy an idea may be gained of the sufferings of the provincials at the hands of the troops of venal commanders

38. Itinera quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini; tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in iudicando, qui alios in se severos esse iudices non vult.

Such excesses are unknown in the army of Pompeius

39. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cuius legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Iam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent, cotidie sermones ad litteras perferuntur; non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti quidem quicquam permittitur; hiemis enim, non avaritiæ perfugium maiores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

Chapter XIV

From the path of duty Pompeius turned aside neither to the right hand nor to the left

40. Age vero, ceteris in rebus quae illius sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit.

In him the old Romans seem to live again

15 41. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod iam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso 20 memoriae proditum videbatur; nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit; nunc intellegunt (non sine causa) maiores suos tum, cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Iam vero ita 25 facies aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae quaerimoniae de aliorum iniuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui

*Expect subjunctive
Indic for emphasis!*

dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur.

His virtues endear him even to those whom his valour subdues

42. Iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognostis. Fidem vero eius quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam iudicant? Humanitate iam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem eius pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum permittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

Chapter XV

Returning to the characteristics of Pompeius as general—his prestige is unrivalled

43. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda (quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus ut aut contemnant aut metuant, aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cuius res gestae pares? de quo homine vos id

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43-46
Auctoritas

quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praec-
 clara iudicia fecistis?

*The mere announcement of his commission to clear the seas
 instantaneously affected prices in Rome*

44. An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam
 putatis, quo non illius [diei] nomen [ac fama] per-
 5 vaserit, cum universus populus Romanus referto foro
 completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus
 conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium
 gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depo-
 10 poscit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum
 exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in
 bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregi-
 arum exempla sumantur; qui quo die a vobis mari-
 timo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente
 15 vilitas [annonae] ex summa inopia et caritate rei
 frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac
 nomine, quantam vix in summa ubertate agrorum
 diuturna pax efficere potuisset.

*The mere knowledge of his presence in the Levant checked
 Mithridates and Tigranes in mid-career*

45. Iam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio,
 de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, cum socii
 20 pertinuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent,
 satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, ami-
 sissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen eius
 temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones
 fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Huius adventus
 25 et Mithridatem insolita inflatum victoria continuit
 et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retar-
 davit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute per

fecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecit, aut
quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vecti-
galia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore
defenderit?

Chapter XVI

Our enemies themselves by their actions bear witness to his reputation

46. Age vero illa res quantam declarat eiusdem
hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem,
quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam
breui tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt! quod
a communi Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula
noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pom-
peium in ultimis prope terras venerunt, eique se
omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt!
Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn.
Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? [eum]
quem [Pompeius legatum semper iudicavit,] ii, quibus
erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum,
speculatorem quam legatum iudicari maluerunt.
Potestis igitur iam constituere, Quirites, hanc auc-
toritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque
vestris iudiciis amplificatam quantum apud illos
reges, quantum apud exteris nationes validam esse
existimetis.

Lastly, Pompeius is the darling of Fortune

47. Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam praestare
de se ipse nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare
de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de
potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego

47-48
Felicitas

enim sic existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. 5 Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adiuncta fortuna. De huius autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, habitar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa 10 dis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur.

His habitual good fortune exceeds even the limits of ordinary human wishes

48. Itaque non sum praedicaturus, quantas ille res 15 domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit, ut eius semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obediunt, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint; hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab dis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti 25 facitis, velle et optare debetis.

8

In fine, Pompeius is the only possible general for this war

49. Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut neglegi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit

administrandum, et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab dis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

Chapter XVII

His presence in the East is an additional reason in favour of his appointment

50. Quodsi Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus ac iue mittendus; nunc cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque oportunitas adiungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit, quid expectamus? aut cur non ducibus dis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium commendamus?

15

*There are, it is true, powerful opponents of this course—
Catulus and Hortensius*

51. At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem, atque

Reputatio

hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, idem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia.

The argument of Hortensius—that supreme power should not be put into one man's hands—is obsolete and without basis in facts

5 ⁵² Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevis iam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, O. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa ¹⁰ copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum, fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornatque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba ¹⁵ fecisti.

That argument would have blocked the proposals of Gabinus, and thereby have lost us our imperial position

Confutatio
53. Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneamus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur, cum ex omnibus provinciis comineatur et privato et publico prohibebamur, cum ita clausis nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem ²⁵ transmarinam neque publicam iam obire possemus?

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QUINTUS HORTENSIVS

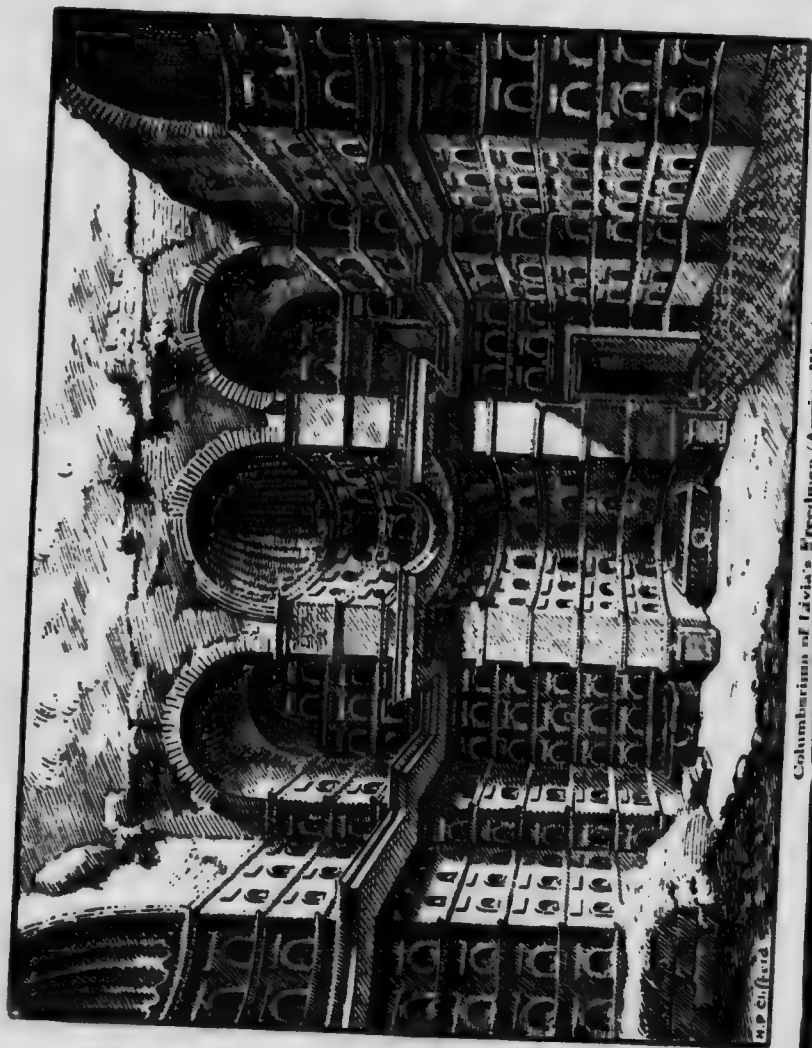
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Chapter XVIII

For years before the passing of that law Rome was mistress of the seas in name alone. She could not protect her own shores, much less live up to the traditions of her glorious past

54. Quae civitas umquam fuit antea—non dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit,—quae civitas umquam antea tam tenuis [aut tam parvula insula] fuit, quae non portus subs et agros et aliquam partem regionis, atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. (55) Nos, quorum maiores Antiochum regem classe Persenque superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco iam praedonibus pares esse poteramus; nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, cum insula Delus tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque operibus commebant, referta divitiis, parva, sine multo nihilo timebat, idem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portibus nostris, sed etiam Appia iam via carebamus;

et iis temporibus nonne pudebat magistratus populi
Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum



Columnarum of Livia's Frieze (Atrian Way)

nobis maiores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium
spoliis ornatum reliquissent!

Chapter XIX

Hortensius meant well, but fortunately for Rome the popular instinct was obeyed

56. Bono ⁷te animo ¹tum, ²Q. Hortensi, ³populus ⁴Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit, et ea quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Ita-⁵que una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare.

And by the way, it is a crying shame that a punctilio should have deprived Pompeius of the services of Gabinus himself

57. Quo ⁴mihi etiam ³indignius videtur obrectatum ¹⁰esse ad-¹huc, Gabinio dicam an-²ne Pompeio, an utriusque, id quod est verius, ne legaretur A. ¹⁸Gabinus Cn. ²¹Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum quem velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expil-¹⁵andos socios diripiendasque provincias quos voluerint legatos eduxerint, an ipse, cuius lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet victoriae [eius imperatoris atque eius exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac ²⁰periculo est constitutus]?

This wrong shall be righted—if not by the official heads of the state, then by myself

58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia gereretur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo iure esse debebat? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relatu-
 10 relaturum; neque me impedit cuiusquam iniquitas, quo minus vobis fretus vestrum ius beneficiumque defendam, neque praeter intercessionem quicquam audiam, de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minitantur, etiam atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea
 15 quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

Chapter XX

The argument of Catulus—'Put not all your eggs into one basket'

59. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si
 20 quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in eo ipso vos spem ha-
 25 bituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla

res tanta sit [ac tam difficilis], quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute.

Further, the position demanded for Pompeius is against precedent. But the whole career of Pompeius is without precedent

60. "At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum." Non dicam hoc loco maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam duo bella maxima, Poenicum atque Hispanicum, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas; non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Iugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: (61) in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova [summa] Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

Chapter XXI

Quid tam novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? Confecit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter con-

suetudinem quam homini peradulescenti, cuius aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his
 5 provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute, bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium
 10 etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit.

And the most unprecedented honours and powers conferred upon him hitherto have had the approval of Catulus himself

62. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore
 15 cum esset non nemo in senatu, qui diceret 'non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule', L. Philippus dixisse dicitur 'non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere'. Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur,
 20 ut duorum consulum munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum [aliu] magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut
 25 [iterum] eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine vidimus.

Opponents of the present measure should remember that results have proved the correctness of the popular verdict in the case of the proposals of Gabinius

63. Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eodem homine a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

Chapter XXII

Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompei dignitate a vobis comprobata[m] [semper] esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium populi Romani auctoritatem improbari, praesertim cum iam suo iure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere, propterea quod isdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis.

Other virtues than those of a soldier are also required in the East

64. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum consulistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conarentur; sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos istis repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbis terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn.

Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque animi virtutes magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de
 5 hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde, etiamsi qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur.

*We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we are hated abroad
 —for which our generals are largely to blame*

65. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio
 10 simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et iniurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam
 15 fuisse? Urbes iam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi facultatem inferatur.

We require therefore not only a great soldier, but an upright man

66. Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem;
 20 norunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitus mittere putatis an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed
 25 unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

68
 omni
 socii

Chapter XXIII

Quare, etiamsi quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum coniugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur.

It is because Pompeius combines in himself these two qualifications that the East is calling him

67. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. 10 Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica praeter paucos, neque nos quicquam aliud consequi classium nomine nisi ut detrimentis accipi- 15 endis maiore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc quae cupiditate homines in provincias et quibus iacturis, quibusque condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur: quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum 20 suis virtutibus, um etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.

Men of high character and ability support the popular demand

68. Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus est quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. 25

Confutatio

Quodsi auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cuius tantae res gestae terra marique extiterunt, ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus, est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognostis, est C. Cassius, integritate, veritate, constantia singulari. Quare videte ut horum auctoritatibus eorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

Chapter XXIV

I approve of the bill of Manilius, and promise to give it all the support in my power. I have no personal end in view

Peroratio.

89. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo; deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano maneat in sententia neve cuiusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde cum tantam multitudinem tanto cum studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est, quod aut de re aut de reficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quid quid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quid quid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quicquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi

populo Romano polliceor ac defero; (70) testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cuiusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompei 5 gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cuiusquam amplitudine aut praesidia periculis aut adiumenta honoribus quaeram, propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem 10 neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur.

I know that my action has created for me personal enemies, but duty and gratitude compel me to put the safety and honour of Rome and her empire before my own advantage

71. Quam ob rem, si quid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicae 15 causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim pertas intellegam mihi non necessarias, vobis non 20 nutes suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis [vestris] beneficiis adfectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum 25 neis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre portare.

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NOTES

N.B.—In references to passages in the Speech, the first number refers to the Section, the second to the Line of the Page. H. = the Harleian MS. of Cicero, from the collation of Mr. A. C. Clark.

§ 1

1. *conspectus*: here used in a passive sense; *i.e.* meaning not a 'seeing', but a 'being seen', and so 'appearance' or 'presence'. The English word 'sight' has the same ambiguity: but note that when used in the active sense it is joined with a possessive adj. only; thus we say 'your sight' (act.), but 'the sight of you' (pass.). Trans. 'the sight of your crowded gathering', as though it were *conspectus frequentiae vestrae*; the idea of 'crowded' being attached as an epithet (*frequens*) to *conspectus*, rather than as a substantive to *vester* ('the crowded sight of you', not 'the sight of your crowds'), by the grammatical figure called Hypallage.

2. *locus*: the platform from which he speaks, the *Rostra*. It stood on the line of division between the *Forum (Romanum)* properly so called, and the *Comitium* (Place of Assembly); the latter being that part or extension of the *Forum* which contained the Senate House (*Curia*). The *Comitium* was dedicated to certain purposes, such as the holding of Assemblies, and was a consecrated space (*templum*: see note on 70, 2), while the *Forum* was the centre of the business life of Rome. Caesar transferred the *Rostra* to the N.W. end of the *Forum*, where its remains are now seen. The name of the orators' platform (*Rostra*, neut. plur.) was derived from the fact that its front was ornamented with the brazen spurs (*rostrum*, 'beak') of war-ships, originally those of the fleet of the Volscian city of Antium captured in 338 B.C.

2, 3. *ad agendum . . . ad dicendum*. The *ius cum populo agendi*, the right of summoning an assembly of the people (*Comitia*, neut. plur.) to vote upon some proposal (*rogatio*, 'bill'), belonged to the superior magistrates (*magistratus cum imperio*, *i.e.* con-

suls and praetors). *Ad dicendum* refers to the *ius contionem habendi*, the right of addressing the people upon any public question. All magistrates possessed this latter right, and the presiding magistrate could grant leave to or invite any private citizen to speak (hence *ornatissimus*, 'most honourable'). There was no right of free speech in Rome, although as a matter of fact there was probably little difficulty in finding opportunity of public utterance. A *contio* could only listen, not vote, and might be attended by anyone; voting could only be done in the *Comitia*, and by those who held the franchise. It was in a *contio* that the present speech was delivered.

4. *Quirites*. The true meaning of this word is unknown. The Romans themselves connected it with the word *Curetes*, inhabitants of Cures, a town in the Sabine country, in the hills north-east of Rome. Others derive it from the Sabine word *cūris* or *quiris*, 'lance'; so that *Quirites* would mean 'those who have the right to bear arms', = 'citizens'. If, however, that was its original meaning, there gradually came a change, as *Quirites* seems to denote the Romans in their civil, not military, capacity: Caesar, for example, recalled a mutinous legion to duty by addressing the men as *Quirites*, implying that they were no longer soldiers, but simply citizens. The full designation of the Roman people was *populus Romanus Quirites*, or *populus Romanus Quiritium*.

laudis: objective genitive; trans. by 'to'.

6. *ab ineunte aetate*, 'since my entry upon manhood'; i.e. since laying aside the purple-bordered *toga* of a boy (*toga praetexta*) for the toga of a man (*toga virilis*; or *toga pura*, from its colour, entirely white—except that senators, equites, and curule magistrates still wore the purple border). A Roman boy thus 'came of age' at sixteen or thereabouts.

7. *per aetatem*, 'owing to my youth'. Cicero could not have possessed the *ius agendi* (see above) before gaining the praetorship; but in the interval since his first appearance as a pleader at the age of twenty-six, he might have secured an invitation to address public meetings (*contiones*), or he might have addressed them in his own right when Quaestor and curule Aedile. It is for his failure to do this that Cicero apologizes, assigning as his reason his want of *auctoritas* and *facultas ad agendum* (see § 2). Hence Clark looks upon the words *per aetatem* as 'a perverse gloss upon *antea*'; H. omits them.

8. *nondum*. The negative force of *nondum* extends only to *audem*, and *statuerem* has its own negative (*nihil*). *Statuerem* would not be well translated here as 'think' (= *existimarem*). *audem* gives a negative attitude of mind ('I did not venture

while *statuerem* expresses the positive act ('I took as my principle').

8. *Aulus auctoritatem loci*, 'this place of authority', *auctoritatem* appearing to supply the place of an adjective—'this authoritative place'. Similarly in 12. 1, *tantam imperii gloriam*, 'so glorious an empire'.

10, 11. *tempus . . . temporibus*: a play upon words, *tempus* being used in its ordinary sense of 'time', while *temporibus* means 'emergencies', especially perils arising from legal prosecutions (= *periculis*, 2. 2).

§ 2

12. *neque . . . et*. The first clause (*hic locus . . . defenderent*), though grammatically co-ordinate with, is logically subordinate to the second clause (*meus labor . . . consecutus*), i.e. we have 'neither has this platform . . . and my efforts' for 'while this platform . . . my efforts'.

1. *defenderent*: a consecutive subjunctive, introduced by the relative *qui*. Such clauses are used to describe the character of a person or thing, the relative being practically = *ut*, and being preceded by a demonstrative pronoun or adjective, like *is*, *talis*, or *tantus*; cf. 3. 13, *talis . . . in qua . . . possit*.

2. *caste integroque*, 'with clean hands and conscience'. Cicero means that he had not taken fees, nor received bribes to betray a client (*praevaricatio* was the name given to such 'collusion'). By a *Lex Cincia* of 204 B.C. advocates were forbidden to take fees or accept gifts from clients, but the law was practically a dead letter, and lawyers amassed great wealth. Theoretically, however, the bar at Rome was not a profession by which men lived, but an avenue to political power.

3. *iudicio*, i.e. in the elections. As all Roman magistracies were filled by the direct vote of the people, the elections gave the verdict of the community upon aspirants to office.

4. *dilationem comitiorum*. So many circumstances might cause the dissolution or postponement of *Comitia* that it is impossible to say why the *Comitia centuriata* for the election of praetors in 67 B.C. were twice interrupted; possibly it was on account of the faction-fights of which we hear in that year. *Comitia* could not be held at all if unfavourable omens were reported by the Augurs, or even if a magistrate of the same or of higher rank than the one presiding announced that he would watch for omens, as it was certain that he would see bad omens if he so desired. The veto (*intercessio*) of a Tribune of the Commons, or, in the case of the *Comitia centuriata*, the lowering of the red flag flying on the Janiculum on the right bank

of the Tiber, broke up the assembly (as in the trial of Rabirius, 63 B.C.).

5. *primus*: not to be taken with *praetor* as 'first Praetor', in spite of the fact that the *Praetor urbanus* and the *Praetor peregrinus* ranked higher than their colleagues, and that, of these two, the *Praetor urbanus* was regarded as the more distinguished. The special functions (*provincia*) of the Praetors were assigned by lot (*sortitio*) after election. At this date there were eight Praetors elected annually, and as all the *centuriae* voted for Cicero, the presiding magistrate at once 'returned' him (*renuntio* is the technical expression). The voting on the other candidates was going on when the proceedings were interrupted, and the whole business must be gone through on a subsequent day.

1, 2. *quid indicaretis . . . quid . . . praescriberetis*. These clauses (indirect questions) are best translated by substantives — 'your verdict on myself . . . your demands on others'. This principle should be widely applied in rendering Latin.

3. *honoribus*: the regular word for official position. Cf. 70. 8.

5. *ex forensi usu*, 'from my practice in the courts'. Trials in civil suits before a Praetor were held either in the open air in the *Comitium* (see above, 1. 2), or in one or other of the *basilicae* in the neighbourhood of the *Forum*.

7. *utar*. Supply *ea* from the following *eam* (= *auctoritatem*).

7-9. *eos . . . ille*, i.e. the audience. There is a change from the direct address in the second person (*voluistis*) to the more general third person. *Ei . . . rei* = *dicendi facultati*. By *fructum* Cicero means his own official position as praetor. *Suo iudicio* is, of course, ablative.

8, 9. *si quid . . . possum*, 'if I can . . .', generally, not under restriction to this particular occasion (which would require the future). *Si quid* is mock modest, in place of the assertive *quicquid*; cf. 71. 14 (where, however, the usual reading is *quicquid*).

§ 3

11. *Atque*, 'and further'. *Atque* is frequently thus used to adduce further arguments of similar force to others previously stated, or to add to what has gone before: *atque* at the beginning of chap. ii. is simply 'now'.

illud, 'the following consideration'; a frequent use of *illud*.

12, 13. *in hac insolita . . . dicendi*. This is our hackneyed phrase, 'unaccustomed as I am to speaking from this platform'. The words *ex hoc loco* limit the meaning to *political* speeches; Cicero had already made his mark as a speaker in the courts.

12, 13. *ratione . . . causa . . . oratio*. *Ratio* is here 'procedure'; *causa*, 'theme'; *oratio*, 'words'; but *orationis*, lower down, is 'theme', and at the beginning of chap. ii., 'speech'. Other varieties of meaning are found in 29. 13, 'statement on a par with the subject'; and 59. 8, 68. 13, 'objection', 'rejoinder'.

15. *virtute*, 'merit', as in 27. 11.

§ 4

21. *vectigalibus*. Is this neuter (from *vectigal*, 'tax', 'revenue'), as certainly in l. 27, or masculine (from *vectigalis*, 'payer of taxes', 'tributary subject')? In 46. 2 we find the combination *socios et vectigalia*, so that *vectigalibus* may well be neuter here; but the masculine is perhaps better after the phrase *bellum adfertur*. So in 5. 5 and 7. 4. Note the somewhat careless use of the word in this and the two following sections.

23. *relictus*, 'left unsubdued'. So in the speech for Murena Cicero says: *Murena repressum (Mithridatem) magna ex parte, non oppressam reliquit*, 'did not crush, but satisfied himself with checking'.

24. *Asiam*: the Roman province of Asia; i.e. the western part of Asia Minor, including the old kingdom of Bithynia and the districts of Phrygia and Mysia in the north, with Lydia and Caria in the south.

25. *Equitibus Romanis*. The *equites* were originally, as the name implies, the cavalry of the state, organized under the Servian constitution in eighteen *centuriae*. Each *eques* received a grant from the state towards the cost and maintenance of a pair of horses (hence the expression *eques equo publico*). The cost of service in the cavalry tends to restrict this career to the wealthier classes, but originally personal efficiency was the only definite qualification for admission to this purely military body of *equites*. In 403 B.C., owing to losses in the field and troubles at home, it became necessary to call for volunteers to increase the number of the cavalry; these new *equites* found their own horses (*equites equo privato*), had no state grant, and were not enrolled in the eighteen *centuriae*. The cavalry service gradually passed into the hands of the *equites equo privato*, and to a still larger extent into that of the so-called allies in Italy; the *equites*, properly so called (*equo publico*), belonging to the wealthiest and noblest families in Rome, no longer served in war, except on the general's staff and as mounted officers of the legions. The eighteen equestrian *centuriae* were filled by the Censors, who selected senators and members of senatorial families with a certain minimum property qualification of (probably) 400,000 sesterces. When at length senators were forbidden to engage in commerce the equestrian *centuriae*



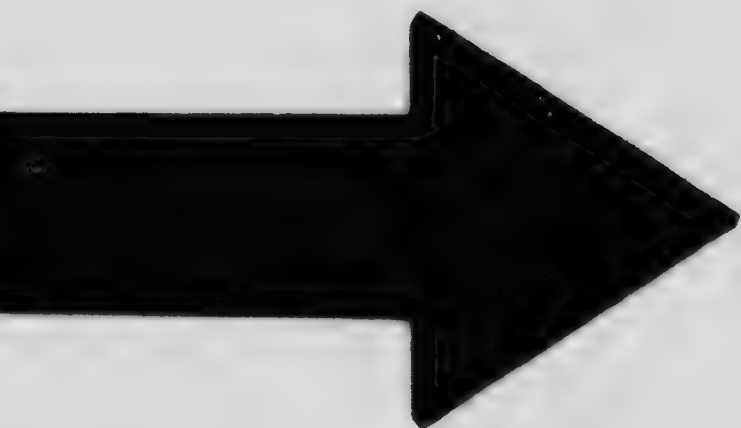
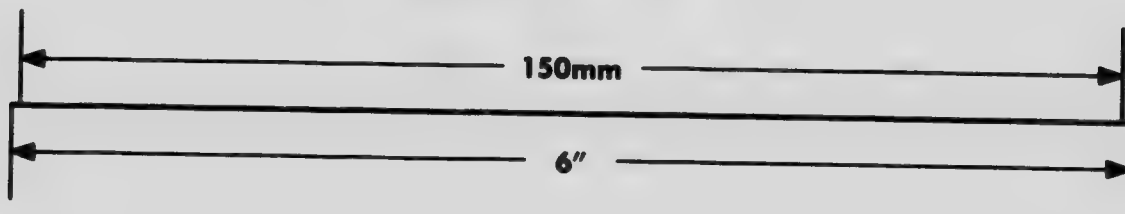
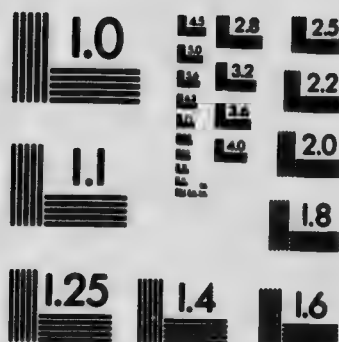
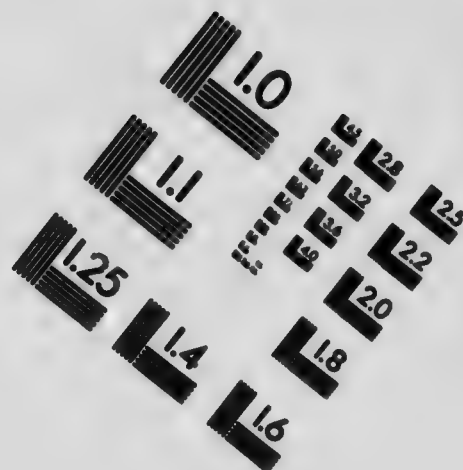
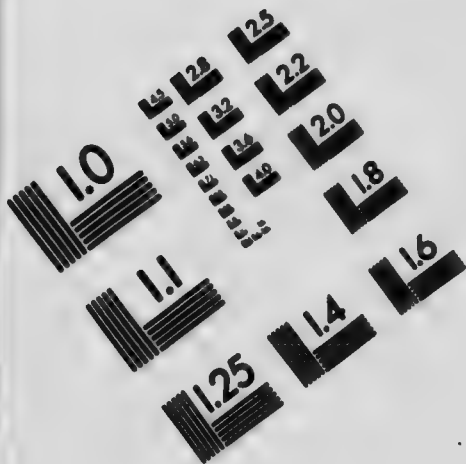
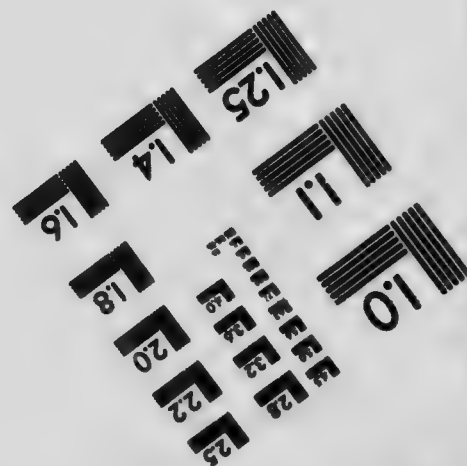


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came to be filled entirely by the rich men of Rome who were non-senators, and in this way the name *equites* came to be applied to all who, eschewing a political career, devoted themselves to business and finance on a great scale, and formed the class of moderate capitalists, merchant princes, and financial magnates, perhaps 30,000 in all. When, finally, Gaius Gracchus gave to the *equites*, in this sense, the sole right to constitute the jury in the criminal courts (a right hitherto enjoyed exclusively by the senators) a definite form was thus given to the body, which is the *Ordo equester* of the later Republic. Members of the order, all possessing the minimum property-qualification of 400,000 sesterces, enjoyed three outward marks of distinction—the gold ring, the narrow purple band on the *toga*, and the exclusive right of occupying the fourteen rows of seats immediately behind the senators in the theatre. *Honestus* was the formal title of respect applied to the order. The political importance of the *equites* lay in their wealth; for by forming companies they were able to speculate in the taxes of the provinces, advancing to the state the estimated annual yield and receiving from it the right of collection. As there was no supervision, and as the courts were, for some years, in the hands of the *equites* themselves, this led to frightful extortion and wrong.

26. *cotidie*: a natural exaggeration. There was no daily mail delivery at Rome, nor any postal department, all such work being done by private couriers.

27. *vectigalibus*: here neuter. Trans. 'locked up in the farming of your taxes'. So in 18. 13, *pecunias collocatas*.

1. *pro necessitudine*. The 'tie' consisted in the fact that Cicero was himself of equestrian family.

§ 5

4. *exustus esse*. The infinitives throughout this section give the contents of the despatches from Asia.

5. *vectigalibus*. Here again the gender is doubtful. If neuter, trans. 'the lands tributary to you'. Cf. *praedia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra atque provinciae* (Verr. ii. 7), 'our tributary lands and provinces are the estates of the Roman people'.

7, 8. *huic qui successerit*: *huic* (= Lucullo) is dative after *successerit*; the demonstrative *eum* must be supplied before *qui* as subject of the infinitive *esse* (*paratum*). Trans. 'his successor' (i.e. Glabrio).

8. *successerit*: subjunctive, because it is the verb of a subordinate (here a relative) clause in indirect narration. Contrast the mood of the verb in the explanatory parenthesis *quae nunc*

vestra provincia est—a remark made by Cicero himself, forming no part of the despatches he is quoting.

9. *sociis et civibus*: the provincials of Asia and the Romans engaged there in business. *Civibus* not here Romans inhabiting the Capital.

9, 10. *unum . . . imperatorem*, 'there is but one man', i.e. Pompeius. *Imperatorem* is part of the predicate—'as general'.

§ 6

13. *Causa quas sit*: see note on 2. 1.

16, 17. *Genus . . . eius modi, quod*, 'in character, the war is such as . . .'; or 'the war is of such a character as . . .'. Instead of making *bellum* the subject of the sentence, Cicero has treated *genus* as the subject for the sake of emphasis. *Quod* grammatically refers to *genus*, of course, but logically to *bellum*, and therefore in the following sentence we have *in quo* (which can only refer to *bellum*), as though *bellum* had actually been the grammatical subject with which we started.

17. *vestros animos*. In English the more natural idiom is to drop *animos*, and say simply 'you'; if *animos* is kept, trans. 'feelings', 'passions'.

18. *ad persequendi studium*, i.e. *ad studium belli persequendi* = *ad bellum studiose persequendum*, 'to a vigorous prosecution of . . .'.
 4. *certissima*, 'an unfailing source of revenue'. The use of the word in this place must be distinguished from its use in the technical phrase *vectigal certum*, 'a definitely fixed impost', also called *stipendium*, levied upon the greater part of the conquered territory outside Italy (with the exception of Sicily and Asia, which paid *decumae*, 'tithes').

7. *a vobis*. Here with the gerund the ablative with a preposition is used, instead of the dative, to denote the agent. This is because there is already present a dative, *quibus* ('for whose interests'), as required by the particular word *consulo* in this sense. So with all verbs requiring a dative, the dative of the agent with the gerund or gerundive is generally replaced by the ablative with a preposition, in order to avoid ambiguity; sometimes also when there is no ambiguity, as in 24. 4, *a me praetereunda non sunt*. Contrast 24. 20, *sibi . . . auctoritati parendum esse*, where no ambiguity is present. See Crit. App. on the present passage.

§ 7

11. *bello superiore*, 'the last war'; i.e. the First Mithridatic War, the unimportant operations of Murena, usually called the Second Mithridatic War, being disregarded.

✓ 13. *quod*, 'I mean the fact that', explaining *macula*.

13, 14. *tota in Asia*. The preposition *in*, which is not usually inserted in such local abl. with *totus* or *medius*, is here retained to make the expression strictly similar in form to the following, *tot in civitatibus*.

14, 15. *una significatione [litterarum]*, 'by a stroke of the pen', or 'by a single despatch'. H. omits *litterarum*; if the word be retained we have a case of Hypallage.

✓ 1. *iam . . . regnat*. *Iam* with the present tense expresses a state of things extending from the past into the present, and still continuing. Trans. 'is on the throne these three-and-twenty years'.

✓ *tertium et vicissimum*. According to the Roman *inclusive* mode of reckoning, this correctly gives the interval 88-66 B.C., beginning with the occupation of Cappadocia by Ariarathes.

4. *vestigalibus*: masc., supplying *populis* or *agris*; see on 4. 21.

in Asia luce, 'flaunt himself in the broad daylight of Asia'. *Luce* is contrasted with *latebris*, 'dark corners', as though Mithridates emerged like some noxious animal from the twilight of his northern home into the brilliantly lighted circle of the more civilized lands of the West.

§ 8

7. *insignia victoriae*, *i.e.* the honour of a triumph, as in the two instances following. Trans. 'symbol . . . not the reality'.

10, 11. *ita . . . ut . . . regnaret*, 'they triumphed only to this degree . . . that he still retained his crown'. An example of the limiting or restrictive use of *ita . . . ut*, 'with the exception that', 'with the reservation that'; as in Cic., *Div. in Caec.*, xiii. 44, *cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam*, 'I praise his genius without fearing it'.

✓ 12, 13. *quod egerunt . . . quod reliquerunt*: *quod* in each case is probably not the direct object of its verb, but a conjunction, *egerunt* being used absolutely—'that they were active, we must praise, etc.'. *Reliquerunt* properly should have had a direct object expressed, but must here mean 'left something still to be done'. Such absolute use of *relinquo*, on the analogy of that of *ago*, is apparently unparalleled. H. reads *egerunt triumphum*, which Clark thinks is probably an early conjecture for a lost word. He suggests that possibly after *egerunt* there may have originally been *tanta*, which was subsequently obelized from confusion with *danda* which follows.

14. *res publica*, 'the claims of the state'.

§ 9

17. *ad oblivionem*, 'to the task of effacing the memory of . . .', by cultivating friendly relationship with Rome.

18. *posteaquam*: see Crit. App.

20. *potuisset*: sc. *comparare*. The subjunctive is apparently due to attraction through the presence of the surrounding pluperfects. We should expect *poterat* (some edd. read *potuit*) or *posset*.

21. *Bosporanis*: the people dwelling about the Cimmerian Bosphorus, in the Crimea and S. Russia.

22. *usque in*, 'all the way to'; emphasizing the vastness of the distance.

23. *duces*, i.e. Sertorius.

24. *disiunctissimis . . . diversis*: *disiunctus* expresses the distance between the two seats of war; *diversus* their situation at opposite points of the compass.

25. *binis . . . ooptis*: *binis*, the distributive, is used instead of *duo* with substantives which appear in the plural only, or which suffer a change of meaning in passing into the plural: e.g. *binas aedes*, 'two houses' (but *duo aedes*, 'two temples'); *binas litteras*, 'two epistles' (but *duo litteras*, 'two letters of the alphabet').

26. *andipiti*: here literally, 'divided', i.e. in two places; generally in Cicero the word means 'doubtful', 'uncertain'.

§ 10

6. *initia rerum gestarum*: *initia* supplies the place of an adjective—'his initial successes'. Cf. *auctoritatem loci* in 1. 8.

10. *allo loco*, i.e. in § 20.

10-12. *ita dicam . . . ut . . . videatur*, 'so speak as to make it clear that . . .'. The subjunctive is consecutive, and the time to which *videatur* refers is future, as it is subordinated to a future (*dicam*).

13. *exorsus*, 'opening subject' (not = *exordium*, 'introduction'). *Exorsus* is found only in this passage.

§ 11

13, 14. *videte . . . putetis*: *putetis*, a subjunctive in indirect question, dependent on *videte* (which here means 'consider'), is apparently pleonastic, i.e. it adds nothing to the sense, which would have been quite complete had Cicero simply said 'consider what your feelings ought to be', instead of 'con-

sider what you think your feelings ought to be'. Cicero very frequently uses this pleonastic form of expression; and many examples occur in this speech: cf. 26. 24, *coniectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis*, for *quantum . . . factum sit* simply; so also in 27. 5, 9, *videatur* and *putaretis*, and in 46. 22, *existimetis*, are pleonastic. Some hold that this usage of a second verb of thinking dependent on a verb of feeling or perceiving is not a mere pleonasm, but represents what in English would be a parenthetical 'in your opinion', 'in your view', or 'think you', intended to soften the abruptness of the question even as stated indirectly.

✓ 15. *Maiores nostri*: the reference is to the campaign against the Illyrian pirates and their queen Teuta in 229 B.C., and against Demetrius of Pharos (an island in the Adriatic, off the Albanian coast) ten years later.

16. *infuriolius*: the comparative has a disparaging sense here, as often—'somewhat rudely'. So *superbius* in the following sentence.

17. *nuntio*, 'message' as in 7. 14; an instance of the Roman desire for the concrete in expression in preference to the abstract.

18. *quo tandem animo*: *tandem*, like the Greek *δη*, emphasizes the question; trans. 'pray'. The ablative here, with *esse*, is that of description. In 12. 5 the ablative is modal.

19. *Legati*. This was in 147 B.C. The Roman ambassadors were as a matter of fact grossly insulted, and, according to some accounts, even personally assaulted by the Corinthian mob and Diaeus and Critolaus the leaders of the Achaean League. Cicero, for obvious rhetorical reasons, here understates the case; but the total destruction of Corinth, by L. Mummius, in 146 B.C., like that of Carthage a few months previously, has been suspected to have been due to the jealousy of the Roman merchants.

20. *lumen*: trans. 'star', as Cicero may be rendering the Greek word *αστρον* applied to Corinth in a verse quoted by Diodorus. Do not use the word 'cynosure'. The metaphor is kept up in the predicate *extinctum*, which therefore agrees in gender with *lumen*, not with *Corinthus*.

21. *voluerunt*, 'resolved', as in the formula *velitis iubeatis*, used in submitting a measure to the votes of the people assembled in *comitia*; *esse* is generally omitted after *volo* used in this sense.

22. *legatum . . . consularem*: the reference is to Manius Aquillius, who had been Consul with Gaius Marius in 101 B.C. In 88 B.C. he was captured by Mithridates and put to a cruel death.

23. *exorciatam*: this goes with all the ablatives.

24. *libertatem imminutam*. Latin is weak in abstract substantives, so that an idea expressed in English by an abstract substantive is rendered in Latin often by means of a past participle combined with a substantive; e.g. *post urbem conditam*, 'after the founding of the city', *ante Tullium natum*, 'before the birth of Tullius'. So in the following sentences: *vitam ereptam*, *ius violatum*, *legatum interfectum*. What exactly Cicero means by this sentence (which clearly refers to the treatment of the envoys at Corinth) it is impossible to say.

26. *persecuti sunt*, 'avenged' (= *ulti*). For a different meaning of the word see 6. 18.

27. *relinquetis*, 'leave unavenged'; a sense somewhat similar to that of *relictus* in 4. 23.

§ 12

3. 1d. *quod accepistis*, 'your heritage'. See on *quid indicaretis* in 2. 1.

4. *Quid?* 'further', or 'again'; a rhetorical question marking a transition to a new point of view, or to fresh arguments in support of a preceding statement (lit. 'what of this fact?'); *quod* is here again 'the fact that . . . '.

7. *socius populi Romani atque amicus*: an honorary title granted by the Roman Senate to foreign princes on the borders of the Empire.

10. *cuncta Asia*: the preposition *in* is omitted, as though *cuncta* were *tota*; cf. § 1. 15, *toto mari*. *Tota Asia* is the more usual expression (in 7. 13, 14, we have *tota in Asia* for a special reason). Long takes the words *cuncta . . . Graecia* as nominative, amplifying *civitates*. H. reads *cunctas Asiae et Graeciae*.

12. *certum*, 'special', 'particular'.

13. *aliud*, i.e. other than was desired, supplying *atque expectaverant*. The reference is to Glabrio.

14. *periculo*: Cicero hints that Glabrio and Lucullus, the two generals on the spot, might have made the provincials suffer for asking for Pompeius, who is, of course, the general meant by *certum imperatorem* (cf. *unum* in 5. 9).

§ 13

16. *summa*: note the emphatic position of the predicate *summa*—'in whom all qualifications exist in a superlative degree'.

17. *propter*: here a local adverb—'close at hand' (as in

14. 14). Pompeius at this moment was on the south coast of Asia Minor, having just finished the war with the pirates.

18. *ad maritimum bellum*: supply the word 'only'.

6. *hoc*: ablative of measure.

ceteras in provincias: for the sentiment cf. 66. 9, *difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterarum nationes*, etc. This obviously contradicts the foregoing *sicut ceterarum . . . socias*, which should therefore probably be excluded, as a gloss upon *quoque* (Clark). The vulg. *ceteros in provinciam* is open to the objection that it makes too direct an attack upon Lucullus and others; throughout the speech Cicero strikes at Lucullus by innuendo. If the vulg. be retained, *ceteros* is predicative, and is best translated by an adverbial phrase—'in other instances'.

7. *cum imperio*, i.e. with *imperium proconsulare*, which ex-praetors in charge of the Provinces possessed, as being in command of armies.

8. *adventus*: plural, because Cicero is referring to a number of separate instances.

§ 14

15. **Antiocho**. Antiochus III, the Great, king of Syria (223–187 B.C.). He attacked Attalus, king of Pergamus, and Eumenes the successor of Attalus, but was utterly defeated in the battle of Magnesia by the Romans (190 B.C.).

Philippto. Philip V, king of Macedonia, who made a treaty with Antiochus the Great for the partition of Egypt, and encroached upon the states of Rhodes, Athens, and Pergamus. He was defeated by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (197 B.C.).

16. **Aetolia**. The Aetolian Federation invited Antiochus the Great into Greece against the Romans (192 B.C.), and attacked several cities in Greece. Three years later, after the defeat of Antiochus, the Aetolians were compelled to sue for a peace which amounted to unconditional surrender and the dissolution of their League.

Poenis. The First Punic War arose out of the appeal of the Mamertines in the Sicilian town of Messana to Rome when they were besieged by Hiero, king of Syracuse (264 B.C.). The seizure of Messana by the Romans led to the war with the Carthaginians. The Second Punic War arose out of the siege of Saguntum, a Spanish town in alliance with Rome, by Hannibal (218 B.C.). The Third war was occasioned by the Carthaginian resistance to the aggressions of Massinissa, king of Numidia, who was in alliance with Rome (149 B.C.). The

expression *propter socios* would therefore suit any of the Punic wars.

21. *tanta*: here used in the sense 'only so great', i.e. 'so small', 'barely sufficient', as in the phrase *tantum dico*, 'I say this and no more'.

tutandas: '*tueri* is the right word, since Cicero means that Asia can pay its own way, or look after itself' (Clark). If the vulg. *tutandas* be retained it must mean that they can hardly pay for the troops required for their protection.

23-25. *ubertate agrorum* . . . *exportantur*: in this sentence Cicero gives the source of the three main heads of taxation in the Province of Asia—the *decumae*, *scriptura*, and *portoria* (for which, see below). The subj. *exportantur* (so H.) implies the thought of the destination or end in view—'things to export'; cf. *De Am.* 104, *haec habui, de amicitia quas dicerem*, 'this was what I had to say'. The vulg. indic. *exportantur* is equivalent to a simple substantive, and the whole phrase would be correctly rendered by the word 'exports'.

26, 27. *belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem*: more difficult phrases than those already employed in § 6, *pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli*; trans., 'to keep in your control the sinews of war and the splendours of peace', or 'that which arms you against external foes and sheds lustre upon you in time of peace'.

§ 15

1. *venit*: here *vēnit*; 'it is when the blow has fallen that . . .'.
3. *metus ipso*, 'the mere apprehension'. For this use of *ipse* cf. 12. 18, *ipso adventu*; it can often be rendered by the word 'simple' or 'simply'.

6. *pecora relinquuntur*. See Crit. App.

7, 8. *ex portu* . . . *vectigal*, 'customs dues', or *portoria*, levied at the ports and frontier stations. These were contracted for by *publicani* like other branches of the *vectigalia*.

8. *decumis*. According to the theory of the Republic, all conquered territory became state domain, which was dealt with in various ways. As a rule, the cultivated land (*ager cultus*) was left in the occupation of its original owners, with the imposition of a fixed land-tax (*vectigal certum*, or *stipendium*; see on 6. 4), or of tithe (*decuma* = *decima*, sc. *pars*), which varied in amount with the annual yield of produce. Asia paid the *decuma* in Cicero's time.

scriptura. In the state domains (*ager publicus*) in Italy and the Provinces the pasture-lands were very important. They are spoken of under various terms—*pascua*, *ager compascuus* or *pascuus*, *silva*, *saltus*. The squatter who grazed his cattle on

this land paid a fixed rent (*vectigal*) to the state. This *vectigal* was farmed by financial syndicates (*publicani*), who levied a grazing-tax (*scriptura*) on every head of stock registered (*scribo*, hence the name of the tax) as put to graze on them by each *pecuarius*, or pastoralist.

§ 16

12. *qui . . . pensitant*: here the relative clause merely defines or explains the antecedent (see on 14. 25), and so its verb is the indic., in spite of the *Orat. Obl.*

13. *exercent . . . exigunt*, 'farm and collect'. The first word refers to the *publicani*, the second to their employes (*familiae*).

16. *familias*. *Familia* (connected with *famulus*, 'servant') properly denotes the slaves of a household, not 'family', i.e. wife and children. The employes of the *publicani* were for the most part slaves.

saltibus. The best MSS., including H., read *salinis*, 'salt-pans'. Some MSS. and edd. read *silvis*. *Saltibus*, 'in the bush', refers to *scriptura* in 15. 8, as *agris* to *decumae* and *portibus* . . . *custodiis* to *portoria*. *Saltus* is defined by Festus as *ubi silvae et pastiones sunt*.

18. *custodiis*: coast-guard stations and frontier posts, established to prevent smuggling. This meaning of the word appears not to be common.

20. *vobis fructui sunt*. The predicative dative, called also the Final dative, or dative of Result, is usually an abstract substantive, and is often, as here, combined with another dative, of the person affected by the result (here *vobis*). Other common examples are: *cui bono est?* (lit. 'to whom is it for a benefit?') 'who gains thereby' (not, as so often used in fiction and 'smart' articles, 'what good is it?'); *oneri esse*, 'to be a burden'; *cordi esse*, 'to be dear to'. The abstract substantive so used is always in the singular. Three examples occur in the present speech; cf. *curae esse* in 17. 6, and *praesidio* in 22. 27. Trans. 'to whom you owe these advantages'.

§ 17

23. *ne . . . quidem*, 'nor again' = Greek *οὐδὲ*.

illud: here again, as in 3. 11, of what follows.

25. *quod . . . pertinet*: if *quod* is here the relative, it logically refers to *bellum*, though grammatically to *genus*; cf. note on 6. 16, 17. Some prefer to take *quod* as a conjunction, as in 12. 4: 'I mean the fact that', explaining *illud*.

3. *et publicani*: *et* is 'in the first place', as though a second *et* were to follow; in place of a second *et* we have *deinde* in l. 10 below. But *nam et* is found so often in Cicero without any answering *et* that probably some other explanation is preferable, as that the *et* is adverbial like the Greek *τε*, cf. *etel* *τε* by the side of *etel*, *etere* by the side of *et*, etc.

4. *rationes et copias*, 'business interests and capital'.

5. *ipsorum per se*, 'intrinsically', i.e. even apart from the interests of other classes affected by the prosperity, or the reverse, of the *publicani*.

8. *eum ordinem*, i.e. the equestrian Order, to which the *publicani* belonged. But *ceterorum ordinum* which follows is used in a general sense, of all ranks of society ('social fabric'). Others explain *eum ordinem* as the special *ordo publicanorum*, in which case the words *ceterorum ordinum* (and *ceteris ordinibus* in l. 10 below) will include those of the equestrian order who were not *publicani*, together with senators and the general mass of citizens. In any case the word *ordo* seems to be used in slightly different senses.

§ 18

10. *ceteris ordinibus*. Cicero means, firstly, the plebeians, or general mass of citizens, some of whom would no doubt find employment in Asia under the *publicani*; senators also are included under the term, for many of them would secretly have money invested with the *publicani* as 'sleeping partners', being themselves forbidden by a *Lex Claudia* (218 B.C.) to engage in mercantile pursuits.

11-13. *partim ipse . . . partim eorum*: *partim* (orig. *partem*) is here used first adverbially ('partly'), and secondly as a substantive with a partitive genitive depending on it (= *alii*). Either construction is normal, but the combination is peculiar. In § 26 *partim militum . . . dimisit*, *partim . . . tradidit*, or Livy, 26. 46, *partim copiarum ad tumultum expugnandum mitti*, *partim ipse ad arcem ducit*, the partitive genitive precedes, and so is readily supplied also with the second *partim*.

13. *pecunias*, 'sums of money', and therefore combined with *magnas*, not *multas*.

16, 17. *à re publica*: for *a rei publicae calamitate*.

18, 19. *publicanis . . . recuperare*: see Crit. App.

20. *redimendi*: *redimere* is the technical expression for 'taking by contract', and is used here of the quinquennial contract entered into with the state by the *publicani* who farmed the various branches of revenue. The groups of *publicani* competed at public auction for the right to collect the *vectigalia*. The leasing of the public revenues was the duty of the Censors.

23. *iste*: *iste* is frequent in the forensic orations as applied to the orator's opponent, often with a touch of contempt. It is so used here of Mithridates; trans. 'this'. Cf. *istorum qui hunc obdrecant legi* in 21. 16, and *isti principes* in 24. 16 and 20.

initio belli Asiatici: the First Mithridatic War.

25. *cum . . . amiserunt*: alluding to the financial crisis of 89 B.C., which, however, was due chiefly to the Social War. *Amiserunt* is the reading of H.; if the vulg. *amiserant* be retained it should be noted that *cum* with a pluperfect indicative generally expresses indefinite frequency, *cum* then being used in the same sense as *quoties*, 'as often as', 'whenever'; e.g. *cum consul abfuerat, seditiosi erant*, 'they were mutinous whenever the consul was absent'. Here this would not be the case, as the verb is restricted to a definite point of past time by the foregoing *tum*.

26. *solutione* . . . *condidisse*, 'payments were suspended and credit collapsed'; or use our phrase 'tightness of money' for *solutione impedita*.

2. *ut non*, 'without . . .'. An example of the restrictive use of *ut*, but here without *ita* in the principal clause. Cf. note on 8. 10, 11, and see the following sentence for another instance.

4. *mihî credite*: parenthetical and without influence upon the construction. *Credo* and *opinor* are often thus used.

5. *haec fides . . . pecuniarum*, 'our public credit and existing financial system'.

5-8. *haec . . . illis . . . illa . . . haec*: an example of Chiasmus (*χιασμός*, from *χιάζω*, 'to place crosswise'), i.e. the order of words in the two contrasted series is inverted in order to make the antithesis more striking. Here this leads to breach of the usual distinction in virtue of which *hic . . . ille* = 'the latter . . . the former'.

6. *in foro*. The bankers' offices (*tabernae argentariae* or *argentariorum*) stood in two rows along the two longer sides of the Forum. The row on the south-west side was called *Tabernae veteres*, that on the north-east side *Tabernae novae*; in time the former gave place to the *Basilica Julia*, the latter to the *Basilica Aemilia*. The phrase *in foro*, therefore, corresponds to our expression 'Lombard Street', or 'on 'Change'. Point would be given to the word *haec* by the fact that the *tabernae* were visible to the audience standing in the Comitium about the Rostra. Trans. 'money-market'.

8, 9. *Quare videte* sums up the first section of the speech, giving the four grounds upon which the necessity of the war was based.

§ 20

15, 16. *belli genus* . . . *necessarium*: for *bellum genere* also *necessarium*, which is the expression actually employed in 27. 2. *Bellum*, not *belli genus*, is the subject of *non esse ita magnum*. See note on 6. 16, 17.

16, 17. *esse* . . . *non esse*: an example of asyndeton or omission of the conjunction (here an adversative conjunction, 'but', 'however'). The omission gives vigour to the contrast.

17. *In quo*, 'on this point' (= *in qua re*).

23. *et us adventu*, 'at the time of his arrival'; a different sense from that of *uno aditu advenit* lower down.

Mithridati: probably genitive, an alternative form to *Mithridatis*. Cf. 23. 5, *ex Tigrani regno*. It is, of course, possible to take *Mithridati* here as dative.

24-26. *instructas fuisse* . . . *oppressam esse*: in *Orat. Rect.* these would be *instructae erant* . . . *obsidebatur*—the first expressing a result already achieved, the second an action still continuing, at the time of the arrival of Lucullus.

25. *Cyziconorum*. Cyzicus was one of the first cities in Asia for size and beauty (so Strabo, writing about 18 A.D.). It was made a Free State (*libera civitas*) by the Romans for its loyalty in the war against Mithridates.

29. *liberavit*. As this is the verb of a subordinate clause in indirect narration the subjunctive might be expected; but the indicative used in the relative clause has the effect of removing it, as it were, from its surroundings, and thus emphasizing the fact which it states.

§ 21

1. *ducibus Sertorianis*; some take this to be ablative absolute, like *ducibus dis immortalibus* in 50. 13, but I do not think this is possible; more probably the case is dative of the agent, which is not infrequent, especially with the Perf. Pass., cf. *mihi res tota provisae est* (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 42. 91). This construction rather than the more usual ablative with *a* is used here probably because of the preceding *ab eodem imperatore*.

5. *Pontum*. The kingdom of Pontus, not the Pontic (Euxine) Sea.

6. *ex omni aditu*: the usual preposition after verbs of excluding is *ab*. Perhaps, however, the phrase is adverbial, and means 'at every point by which approach was possible'; cf. *Verr.* iv. 53, 117, *nam et situ est quam munito, tum ex omni aditu . . . praeclaro ad aspectum*; *Phil.* i. 25, *omnes clauduntur aditus*; *Pro Caec.* 35, *primo aditu vestibuloque prohibuerint*.

9, 10. *uno aditu*. *Uno* seems here to have the same sense as *ipso*.

11. *alios reges*, *vis.* first to Tigranes in Armenia, and then with Tigranes to the Parthian King Phraates; *alias gentes* therefore signifies Armenians and Parthians.

13. *salvis . . . integris*, *i.e.* without oppressing the provincials by forced contributions, and without heavy demands on the state chest; *e.g.* a vote of 3000 talents for the fleet was refused by Lucullus, according to Plutarch.

14. *laudis*; partitive genitive, depending on *satis*. For the reading see Crit. App.

§ 22

2. *magnum*: from its position emphatic and part of the predicate.

5. *Ponto*. *Pontus*, properly a district in the north-east of Asia Minor, is here used in a wider sense to include Colchis, still farther to the north-east, which actually belonged to the kingdom of Mithridates.

Medea illa, 'Medea famous in story'—a common use of *ille*. Long points out that in his treatise *De Nat. Deorum*, § 67, Cicero has quoted some verses from an old poet, which were probably in his memory when he wrote the present passage. Some of the lines run as follows:—

*perque agros passim dispergit corpus: id ea gratia,
ut, dum nati dissipatos artus captaaret parens,
ipsa interea effugeret, illum ut maeror tardaret sequi.*

7. *fratris . . . parens*, *i.e.* Absyrtus (in Greek Ἀψυρτος) . . . Acetes.

7, 8. *se . . . persequeretur*. The subjunctive is not necessarily due to the indirect statement, but would have been employed even in *Orat. R.* to imply the thought of Medea (possibly also because it represents a deliberative subj.). But the reflexive *se* can only be explained as due to the influence of the preceding *sui*; cf. *Ad Att.* 2. 7. Strictly, *se* should refer to *parens*, the subject of *persequeretur*; the preceding *sui* is, of course, quite normal, referring to the subject of its own sentence, which happens to be in the accusative (*quam praedicant*) owing to the indirect narration.

8. *collectio dispersa*. Usually regarded as a case of Hypallage, or transference of the epithet from the second substantive to the first, *dispersa* more properly belonging to *eorum* (= *membrorum*). See note on *frequens conspectus vester* in 1. 1.

15. *diligentius*, 'too carefully'; the same use of the comparative as in 11. 16.

16. *illum . . . hos*: = Acetes . . . the Romans.

§ 23

18. *timore et fuga*: an example of what is called hendiadys (from the Greek *ἐν δὶά δυοῖν*, 'one thing through two'), or the resolution of a substantive and epithet into two substantives—'fear and flight' for 'terror-stricken flight'. Vergil supplies the stock instance—*pateris libamus et auro*, 'we make drink-offerings from bowls and gold (= golden bowls)'.

22. *plures gentes, vis.* the peoples subject to or allied with Tigranes.

24, 25. *quas numquam . . . putavit.* Cicero by implication censures Lucullus for carrying the war into the kingdom of Tigranes in the face of the reluctance of the Senate to be embroiled in the affairs of the far East. *Bello* must be taken only with *lacsessendas*.

26. *vehemens*, 'fanatical'.

27. *fani*: supposed to be the temple of the Persian goddess Nanaea or Anaitis in Elymais, on the lower Euphrates—"the most celebrated and the richest shrine in the whole region of the Euphrates" (Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.*, iv. 343, ed. 1894). But this seems too far removed from the scene of operations, and probably Cicero had no definite idea in his mind. "On no account can the allusion be to the temple of Comana or any shrine at all in the kingdom of Pontus" (Momms. *l.c.*).

3. *novo quodam terrore.* Notice this use of *quidam* to enhance the force of an epithet. Trans. by 'vague'.

5. *ex Tigrani regno.* *Ex* is used in order to avoid the occurrence together of two genitives, *Tigrani regni*. The form of expression adopted also brings into prominence the isolated character of the achievement—"captured a city out of all his realm". Cicero alludes thus disparagingly to the capture of the Armenian capital, Tigranocerta.

7. *commovebatur*: Cicero conceals the mutiny of the troops.

§ 24

12. [*et eorum . . . collegerant*]. Probably a gloss upon *suam manum*, for the two phrases must denote the same people, as opposed to the *adventicia auxilia*. If the words are retained, *eorum* must depend on *auxiliis*, unless some such word as *copiis* has fallen out.

2, 3. *multorum opes*: = *multos opulentos*. Cf. *auctoritatem loci* in 1. 8.

4, 5. *ut . . . videatur.* The meaning of this is somewhat obscure. It is possible to take the *ut* as consecutive, and attach the whole clause closely to the words *vivunt in regno*

only—'those' who live under monarchical rule so that they regard the very name of king as something great and sacred'. Or the *ut* clause may be one of inferential generalization from the preceding—'so that apparently . . .', or, 'whence we gather that . . .'.

§ 25

6, 7. *victus . . . incolumis*, 'In the hour of defeat . . . in the day of prosperity'.

7. *est ausus optare*. In English the conditional, 'would have ventured', would more naturally be used. Compare the Latin idiom in such phrases as *melius fuit*, for our 'it would have been better'; *longum est narrare*, 'it would be a long story'.

10. *umquam*. *Umquam* (like *quisquam* and its adjective *ullus*) is used only in clauses containing an expressed or an implied negative. Here the negative idea is implied in the preceding words *praeter spem* = 'he had never hoped'.

11. *victorem*. The substantive is in apposition to *exercitus*, and so is virtually an adjective—'victorious'. Cf. the phrase *dire exercitus*, 'a raw army'.

12. *poetae*. Such were Cn. Naevius (240–202 B.C.), who wrote a history of the First Punic War in Saturnian verse, and Q. Ennius (239–170 B.C.), whose *Annales*, written in hexameter verse, gave the history of Rome from its foundation to his own day. It is, however, scarcely necessary to suppose that Cicero had any definite reference in his mind.

13. *calamitatem*: the defeat of Triarius in 67 B.C.

§ 26

18, 19. *qui tamen . . . potuisset*. Notice Cicero's ungenerous refusal to do justice to the undoubted military ability of Lucullus. *Potuisset* is a potential subjunctive, *i.e.* it forms part of the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is unexpressed, but can be supplied with greater or less readiness from the context; here 'if he had remained in command'.

21. *vetere exemplo*. Cicero is not honest in professing to appeal to precedent for the recall of Lucullus, as extension of command (*prorogatio imperii*) was no new thing, and was indeed the very object aimed at on behalf of Pompeius by the bill of Manilius. The earliest instance of prolongation of command after the expiry of the year of office is that of Q. Publilius Philo in 326 B.C.

22. *stipendiis confectis*: ablative of description—'whose time

of service had expired'. If the vulg. *confecti* be read, trans. 'worn out by years of service', *stipendiis* then being an instrumental or causal ablative. The reading *stipendiis confectis* is that which corresponds with facts.

27. *imperator noster*, 'a general sent out from Rome', or 'by us'. Cf. 64. 4. By *novus imperator* here Glabrio is generally taken to be meant.

§ 27

4, 5. *dicendum esse videatur*. *Ut dicerem* or *ut diceretur* would have been sufficient. This superfluity of wording is a trick of style for which no real reason can be assigned, for the style of a great speaker or writer, the method by which certain effects are achieved, to a large extent defies analysis. Cf. *perspicite quantum illud bellum factum putetis*, in 26. 24, 25. Trans. 'I have still, perhaps, to speak'.

6. *innocentium*, 'with clean hands'—alluding to the charge industriously circulated at Rome, that Lucullus purposely prolonged the war in order to enrich himself.

11. *antiquitatis memoriam*: a compressed phrase for 'the glorious record of the heroes of the past', used for the sake of the parallelism with *eorum . . . gloriam*.

12. *superarit*: consecutive subjunctive, as *unus . . . qui = unus talis ut*—'the one man of such character that . . .'

salusquam. *Quisquam*, being confined to sentences in which there is a negative expressed or implied, is rightly used also in comparative sentences (which in reality deny equality in the specified point on the part of two things), and, as here, in questions to which a negative answer is expected; cf. *quis . . . umquam . . . fuit* in ll. 16, 17, below.

§ 28

15, 16. *scientiam . . . felicitatem*. It is not easy to get good English equivalents; perhaps 'technical knowledge, natural endowment, personal reputation, and luck'. *Auctoritas* might also be rendered 'prestige'.

17. *hoc homine*, i.e. Pompeius.

18. *esse debuit*, 'was bound to be'; i.e. had a right to claim the title *scientior* by virtue of early training.

19. *bello maximo*. The allusion is to the Marsic or Social War in 90 B.C., and to the Civil War against Cinna, which followed it in 87 B.C.

21, 22. *summi imperatoris*: his own father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo.

23. *imperator*, *vis.* when, before he was twenty-three, he raised forces in Picenum, and joined Sulla on his return from the East. Sulla himself saluted him as *imperator* on this occasion.

23, 24. *hoste . . . inimico.* *Hostis* is an enemy of one's country (consequently, in general a foreigner, sometimes a renegade, like Catiline); *inimicus* is a man's private enemy (in general, therefore, a fellow-countryman).

25. *provincias confecit*: either 'reduced to subjection more provinces', a phrase frequent in Livy (cf. Cic. *De Inv.* 2. 111, *quosdam . . . consecutus est et confecit*), or else *provincias* is used in the wider sense of 'commissions'.

2, 3. *suis imperiis*, 'under his own command'.

6. *Civile*: under Sulla against the younger Marius in 83 B.C., and against Cn. Papirius Carbo in Sicily in the following year. Also against the party of M. Aemilius Lepidus in Cisalpine Gaul in 77 B.C.

Africanum: against the remnant of the Marian party led by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Hiarbas, a pretender to the throne of Numidia, in 81 B.C.

Transalpinum: against Gallic tribes incited by Sertorius to block his passage into Spain in 77 B.C.

7. *Hispaniense*: the war with Sertorius and Perpenna (76-72 B.C.).

7, 8. [*mixtum . . . nationibus*]. These words should be expunged, as this war does not call for description rather than the others. In any case *civitatis* could hardly stand; *civibus* or *civilibus* is what is wanted.

8. *servile*: by cutting to pieces 5000 fugitives of the army of Spartacus in 71 B.C.

navale: the war against the pirates in 67 B.C.

11. *esse*: not to be joined with *positam*. Cf. 44. 3, *desertam*.

§ 29

13. *Iam vero*, 'further', introducing a transition to a more important consideration or illustration of the point.

21. *quos . . . audivimus.* *Audire aliquem* means 'to listen to a person': 'to hear about a person' is properly *audire de aliquo*; but *audire* is here assimilated in construction to *videre*.

§ 30

23-25. *Testis est . . . testis . . . testis.* Such repetition of a word at the beginning of successive clauses, for the sake of emphasis and solemnity, is called *anāphōra*.

24. *liberatam*: that is, from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna.

8. *bello taetro*. The Servile War was characterized by the barbarities practised by both sides upon their prisoners. It was "more a massacre than a war" (Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.*, iv. 359, ed. 1894). Trans. 'the horrors and dangers of . . .'

11. *sublatum . . . sepultum*. The metaphor must be changed in translation.

§ 31

14. *universa*, 'taken as wholes', i.e. 'in their length and breadth'.

19. *hieme*. In winter (from about the middle of November to the middle of March) navigation generally ceased in the Mediterranean. Cf. *Acts* xxvii. 12 and xxviii. 11.

referto praedonum: the gen. is used after *refertus* here (like *plenus*) in order to avoid the concurrence of several ablatives in different senses.

19, 20. *cum . . . navigaret*, 'voyaging as he did'.

20. *turpe*, 'discreditable', to the Roman Government.

21. *vetus*: going back at least to 103 B.C.; see note on § 19.

22. *arbitraretur*, 'would have imagined'. A potential subjunctive; see on § 18, 19. It is used in questions which convey a negative opinion on the part of the speaker.

omnibus imperatoribus, i.e. *qui nunc sunt*, 'all present-day generals'; but *omnibus annis*, sc. *vitae*.

§ 32

27. *cui praesidio classibus*. *Praesidio* is a predicative dative, *cui* a dative of the person interested; *classibus* is an instrumental ablative. See note on *vobis fructui sunt* in § 20. Trans. by a verb.

30. *captas urbes*: Plutarch in his life of Pompeius says that four hundred cities were ravaged by the pirates.

1, 2. *fuit . . . Fuit*, 'was, but is no more'; so Vergil says *fuit Ilium*. *Erat* cannot be used in this sense.

3. *propugnaculis imperii*, i.e. the fleets and the troops in the frontier provinces.

5. *dicam*, 'am I to say'. *Dicam* here, as well as *querar* and *dicam* in the two succeeding sentences, are deliberative subjunctives, as is shown by *commemorem* in l. 13, below.

6. *Brundisio*. Most edd. follow the majority of MSS. in reading a *Brundisio*. H. omits the preposition. Names of

towns *from* which one goes are generally in the ablative *without* a preposition; but it is argued that *transmitto* does not imply motion from as definitely as does such a word as *proficiscor*, so that the preposition may be inserted here for the sake of precision. In § 18 we have the usual mode of expression—*Brundisio profectus est*—although here also many MSS. read a *Brundisio*. The preposition should be omitted in both places. Brundisium or Brundisium (mod. *Brindisi*) was in ancient times, as it still is, the chief port of departure from Italy for the East.

7, 8. Qui . . . *venirent*. Supply the word *legati*, which is here used in its most general sense—‘commissioners’. *Venirent* would more regularly have been *venerint*; but the tense is explained as representing *veniebant*, an imperfect of indefinite frequency—‘who from time to time came’. The order is: *cum legati p. Rom. redempti sint, querar eos captos esse qui ab exteris nationibus ad vos (legati) venirent*.

9. *redempti sint*. Nothing is known of the episode to which Cicero alludes—if indeed it is not merely a piece of rhetorical exaggeration.

10. *duodecim secures*, i.e. two Praetors, as each praetor was attended in the provinces by six lictors, in the city by two only. The names of these two unfortunates are given by Plutarch as Sextilius and Vellinus. *Secures* is literally ‘axes’, put for *lictors* by the figure called metonymy, or transference of name. Compare our use of the words ‘gun’, ‘bat’, ‘sabre’, for ‘sportsman’, ‘batsman’, and ‘trooper’. It was, of course, only outside the city that the bundle of rods (*fascis*) carried by the lictors contained the axe—the symbol of military jurisdiction against which there was no appeal.

§ 33

12. *Cnidum*. Cnidus was on the coast of Caria (the southwestern corner of Asia Minor). It possessed two harbours, and enjoyed a great trade, especially with Egypt, as it lay on the maritime highway (cf. *Acts*, xxvii. 7).

Colophonem. Colophon was in western Asia Minor, not far north of Ephesus. Near it was an oracle of Apollo of Clarus, which was plundered by the pirates.

Samum. Samos is the third in size of the four large islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor (the others being Lesbos, Chios, and Cos, in that order from north to south). Samos lay between Ephesus and Miletus (cf. *Acts* xx. 15, fol.). It possessed a famous temple of Hera (Lat. Juno), which the pirates plundered while Sulla was in Asia.

14. *atque eos portus* further defines *vestros portus*. Cf. *regnat, et ita regnat* in § 7.

15. *quibus . . . ductis*: as being the harbours in which the grain imported from Sicily, Africa, and Egypt was landed. The ports meant are those of which mention follows.

15, 16. *in praedonum . . . potestatem*. The accusative is pregnant, i.e. it expresses the process rather than the result. Some MSS, however, read *potestate*, which is simpler, though not preferable. This pregnant accusative with *in* seems to be an exceptional use confined to expressions containing *esse*, less frequently *habere*, and rarely other verbs. Cf. Cic. *Div.* 20, 66, *quae in amicitiam populi Romani ditionemque essent*; *Phil.* v. 7, 19, *adesse in senatum iussit*; *Verr.* 5, 38, *in eorum potestatem portum futurum intellegebant*, with which cf. Livy, xxiv. 1, 13, *ut portus in potestatem Locrensiū esset*. It is probably an archaic usage.

17. *Caletae*: a seaport in the south of Latium, near the mouth of the Liris.

18. *praetore*. His name is unknown; he may have had the special duty of protecting the coast against the pirates.

19. *Miseno*. Misenum was a promontory of Campania, to the west of Naples. The emperor Augustus afterwards created a harbour on the east of the promontory, and made it the chief naval station on the western side of Italy.

etius ipsius. Although the name is not given, for reasons of delicacy, all would know that the reference was to the orator M. Antonius. He had been Praetor in 104 B.C., and was sent with the title of proconsul to Cilicia in 103 B.C.; he had defeated the pirates and triumphed in 102 B.C. The plural *liberos* is an exaggeration, as it was a daughter only that fell into the pirates' hands, while she was walking in the grounds of her father's villa at Misenum. She was ransomed for a large sum. This M. Antonius was the father of the M. Antonius Creticus who failed disgracefully against the pirates in his praetorship in 74 B.C. (and may therefore possibly be the Praetor alluded to in l. 18 above).

21. *Ostienae*. Ostium, as its name denotes, was the port at the mouth (*ostium*) of the Tiber, about sixteen miles distant from Rome; hence *prope inspectantibus vobis*.

22. *labem atque ignominiam*: possibly an example of hendiadys (see on 23. 18)—'blot and shame' for 'shameful blot'.

23-25. *cum . . . oppressa est*. Note that *cum* is here conjoined with an indicative—'at the time when . . .'; in l. 14 above, *cum* is conjoined with a subjunctive—'seeing that . . .'. This section contains also an example of the prepositional *cum*.

23, 24. *ea*, *cui . . . esset*: the subj. expresses the character—'a fleet of such importance as to require . . .'. The indicative would demand the omission of *ea*.

24. *consul*. His name is unknown; he was not necessarily on board at the time.

25. *Pro di immortales!* *Pro* (sometimes, but less correctly, written *proh*) is an interjection, and *di immortales* is vocative. Sometimes an accusative (often the word *fidem*) appears after *pro*, but this accusative really depends upon some suppressed verb like *oro* or *obsecro*.

27. *brevi tempore*: less than ninety days.

2. *Oceani ostium*, i.e. the *Gaditanum fretum*, or straits of Gibraltar. Cicero plays upon the word *ostium* ('portals' and 'port'). Notice the Chiasmus—*ostium Tib. & Oceani ostium*, and the antithesis—*classem—navem, hostium—praedonum, videbatis—audiat*.

§ 34

4. & *me*: used instead of the more usual dative after the gerundive, perhaps to emphasize the idea of agency. See note on 6. 7, *a vobis . . . consulendum*.

4, 5. *praetereunda non sunt*. This should properly have been *praetereundum non est*. The plural is due to the influence of the *haec* placed at the beginning of the sentence, and treated as the subject of the main verb, not merely as nominative of its own dependent interrogative clause (*qua . . . gesta sint*).

7, 8. *quam celeriter*. There is here a slight irregularity of expression. The normal form would be *tam brevi tempore . . . quam* (understanding, of course, *brevi tempore*), or else *tam celeriter . . . quam* (understanding *celeriter*). Here these two possible modes are combined. In translating, omit *celeriter*, and say simply 'as' for *quam*.

8. *belli impetus navigavit*: a bold personification, the force of which lies in the verb. In the apparently similar passage in the *Pro Murena*, 15, 33, *cum totius impetus belli ad Cysicenum moenia exstitisset*, the personification is less striking and poetical, as *existit* has lost its primary meaning of 'stand forth', and is in frequent use in the sense simply of 'to be'. Cicero was here perhaps recalling a line of the poet Ennius, *labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas*. The expression must be softened in English to something of the type of 'this war-cloud swept over the sea', or 'his warships flew'.

9. *nondum tempestivo*, i.e. in early spring, before the sailing season properly began (*ineunte vere* in 35. 2).

10, 11. *adiit . . . exploravit . . . venit*: not necessarily in all cases in person, but by means of his *legati*.

10. *Africam*: the territory in the neighbourhood of what had once been Carthage.

inde Sardiniam: see Crit. App.

11. *frumentaria subsidia*, 'sources of our grain supply', 'granaries'.

§ 35

13. *in Italiam*. Pompeius was compelled to return on account of the opposition in the city on the part of the Consul C. Calpurnius Piso to the levying of troops.

13, 14. *duabus Hispaniis*, viz., *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior* (so named, of course, from the Roman point of view). The two Provinces were organized in 197 B.C.

14. *Gallia*: probably the coast of that part of *Gallia Transalpina* or Gaul beyond the Alps which was called *Gallia Narbonensis*, or simply *Provincia*, a name which survives in the modern *Provence*, applied to the southern province of France, east of the Rhone (according to the division into provinces as before the Revolution of 1789). This part of Gaul had been a Roman Province from 121 B.C. Transalpine Gaul properly so called, i.e. Gaul N. of the *Provincia*, was first reduced by Julius Caesar. Some MSS. here read *Transalpina*; H. has *Cisalpinga*; probably the adjective should be omitted.

15. *confirmata*: the singular feminine, agreeing with the nearer subst., *Gallia*, makes the construction clearer than would have been the case if the more regular *confirmatis* had been used, owing to the presence of the other ablatives, *praesidiis* and *navibus*. H., however, has *confirmatis*.

16. *Achaia omniemque Graeciam*. The name *Achaia*, according to the proper Greek usage, denoted only the territory on the northern coast of the Peloponnese; and although it was employed by the Romans to denote the entire land of Greece after its conquest in 146 B.C., yet in Cicero's time there was still some ambiguity attaching to it, so that the words *omniemque Graeciam* are here (and elsewhere in Cicero) added to indicate its use in the extended sense. Greece was probably not organized as a province (*Provincia Achaia*), as distinct from that of Macedonia, before the time of Augustus.

16, 17. *duo maria*: the Adriatic (*mare superum*), and the Tuscan or Tyrrhene sea (*mare inferum*).

18. *ut = ex quo tempore*. Cicero uses *ut* in this sense fairly often; cf. *Ad Att.* i. 15. 2, *ut Brundisio profectus es, nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae*, and *Brut.* 5, *ut illos libros edidisti, nihil a te postea accepimus*. It is also found in comic drama.

20. *Ciliciam*, i.e. the western portion, called *Cilicia Aspera* or *Trachea* ('the Rugged'); the less mountainous eastern portion (*Cilicia Campestris*) had been a Roman Province since 102 B.C. Western Cilicia was a great stronghold of the pirates.

23. *Cretensibus*: dative after both *ademit* and *imperavit*. The pro-consul Quintus Metellus was at this time operating in Crete, but the Cretans, hoping for better terms, betook themselves to Pompeius, who claimed to have concurrent authority over the island with Metellus, by virtue of that clause in the Gabinian law which gave him authority over a distance of fifty miles from the sea. The result was a quarrel in which Pompeius was worsted.

usque in Pamphyliam: mere rhetoric, for Pamphylia was not very far from Crete. The Roman point of view is substituted for the Cretan. In § 46 there is a more flagrant specimen.

24. *legatos deprecatoresque*: hendiadys; trans. 'representatives to beg for terms'.

§ 36

5. *oeteras*, i.e. the moral and intellectual qualities, as distinguished from the purely military qualities (*bellandi virtus*) which have just been described.

paulo ante: referring probably to the hint contained in the words *neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae*, in 29. 16.

10. *innocentia*. See note on 27. 6.

13. *qualia*, i.e. the colour or complexion they take in the case of Pompeius; for in his case it is not a question of degree (*quanta*), as he possesses them in the fullest possible measure (*summa*).

15. *ex aliorum contentione*, 'from a comparison with others'. The references in the following section are to contemporaries, but the key is lost.

§ 37

17, 18. *ullo in numero*: 'count as such at all'.

18. *cuius . . . veniant*: the subjunctive is generic, a variety of the consecutive, after the relative indicating a constant characteristic—'the sort of man that . . .'.

centuriatus. There were sixty centurions in each legion, appointed through the six military Tribunes by the commander-in-chief, i.e. the Consul or pro-consul. Appointment as centurion was the reward of merit for the rank and file in the legion.

19, 20. *Quid . . . cogitare*: supply *possumus putare*, with a slight change of meaning in the word *putare* ('reckon' . . . 'imagine').

22. *provinciae*: supply *retinendae*, not *accipiendae*; the general in the case assumed (though Cicero has, of course, some definite name in his mind) holds office (*provincia*), otherwise he could not have touched public money, but hopes by bribery (*magistratibus dividerit*) to secure prolongation of his command.

23. *in quaestu reliquerit*, 'left invested'.

2. *nisi . . . confiteri*, 'unless it be one who chooses first to admit his own guilt'; or, as we say, 'one need not put the cap unless it fits'. *Ante*, sc. *quam irascatur*: the . . . in a clause introduced by *antequam* (or *priusquam*) is indicative when mere sequence is denoted, in the subjunctive when there is present any notion of anticipating or awaiting; so here, admission of guilt is a necessary preliminary to the display of anger.

4. *ventum est*. If a thing be spoken of that is repeatedly or customarily done, the perfect is used in subordinate propositions which express time, condition, or place, if the action of the subordinate is to be supposed as antecedent to that of the leading proposition (in English the present is generally used). The mood shows that here the clause is no part of the indirect question.

adferant, 'bring in their train', 'their coming is the signal for'.

§ 38

6-8. *Itinera quae . . . fecerint*: *quae* is here not the relative, but, as the subjunctive shows, the interrogative; *itinera precedes quae* for the sake of emphasis, as in *causa quae sit, videtis* in 6. 13.

7. *civium Romanorum*: the bulk of the Italians had received Roman citizenship by (1) the *Lex Julia* of 90 B.C. giving the full franchise to all allied and Latin cities which had not joined in the Social War, and (2) the *Lex Plautia Papiria* of 89 B.C., which offered the *civitas* to the cities which were in arms.

9. *fleri existimetis*. See note on *videte . . . putetis* in 11. 13, 14.

11. *hibernis*. All provincial towns, with the exception of those standing in a privileged position, i.e. cities with treaties (*civitates foederatae*), or those with charters (*civitates liberae*), were liable to have troops quartered upon them. Great sums were often paid for exemption from this burden, which suggested a frequent form of exaction to unscrupulous governors.
(2102)

§ 30

16. *Et*, 'and then' (= *cum ita se res habeat*).

18, 19. *non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem*: for *non modo non . . . sed ne . . . quidem*. When the same predicate serves both clauses, and the second clause is negative, the second *non* is omitted after *non modo* as it can be supplied from the following *ne . . . quidem*. Here, the common predicate is *cuiquam . . . dicatur*. So also in the sentence next but one following.

18. *manus . . . vestigium*: a somewhat forced antithesis between the acts of the troops and their passage through the country. Trans. 'so that no peaceful provincial has suffered aught either at the hands of all those thousands, or even from their mere passage through the country'. *Manus* may refer to personal outrage, *vestigium* to damage done by foraging parties to crops and cattle; or, if *manus* be taken to cover both the above, *vestigium* must be limited to the damage done by actual marching, as over standing corn. But no one, of course, can take the words seriously.

tanti exercitus: *tantus* has here a concessive force—'though so large'.

20. *hibernant*: the tense is quite accurate, as the troops of Pompeius were at that moment in Cilicia (so *dicatur* in the previous sentence).

23, 24. *hiemis . . . avaritiæ*: both words depend upon *perfugium*, but in different senses—'a shelter not for avarice (subjective genitive), but from the wintry blast' (objective genitive). But the meaning is not so simple as it looks. For what really does *avaritiæ perfugium* signify? Long rightly points out that the words must indicate a place to which avarice resorts to satisfy itself, not to hide; in other words, the antithesis is one of sound, not of sense.

§ 40

1. *Age vero*: a common formula of transition. The plural is not necessarily employed, even though a plural verb (*considerate*) follows so closely.

3. *cursum*: *cursus*, from *curro*, signifies rapid motion, and when combined with an adjective like *incredibilis* or *tantus* is best rendered 'rapidity'. The word also occurs in this section in its more ordinary sense of 'course'.

inventum, 'what is the secret of . . .'.

4. *eximia vis remigum*, 'picked crews', such as would naturally be selected for service on the flagship.

9. *amoenitas*: always in classical Latin of the charm of natural scenery.

10. *nobilitas urbis*: alluding perhaps to the visit of Pompeius to Athens, where he stopped only long enough to offer sacrifice and address the people.

13. *ostent*. Cicero's mind would go back especially to Verres, who had despoiled the Sicilian cities of their art-treasures (*ornamenta*) in 73-71 B.C.; but few Roman governors could resist the temptation to beautify their mansions in Italy at the expense of the Greek cities.

ea: redundant, naming *signa* . . . *ornamenta* after the relative clause.

§ 41

18. *fuisse*, 'that there really had lived Romans who in the old times exhibited the self-control once more (*hac*) exemplified'.

19. *quod*. The antecedent is the clause *fuisse* . . . *continentia*.

22, 23. *ea temperantia*: ablative of description, like *hac* . . . *continentia*, above, and *humanitate* . . . *tanta*, below. Note that this ablative must always be accompanied by an adjective or its equivalent. A distinction often drawn between the ablative of description and the genitive of description or quality—that the former generally expresses some temporary or external characteristic—seems to have little validity.

23. *habebamus*. The indicative in the subordinate clause lays stress upon the fact; the subjunctive would express it as a thought in the mind of the subject of the main verb.

25. *liberae*, 'unhindered'.

1. *inimis par*, 'on a level with the humblest'.

§ 42

4. *quaedam*, 'an indefinable'; the same use as in 23. 3.

5, 6. *huc ipso ex loco*, i.e. the *Rostra* from which he is speaking. But the preceding *ipso* means 'apart from all other considerations', 'taken on its own merits'.

6. *Fidem*, 'word of honour'.

8. *Humanitate*. Put first in order to secure a more formal parallelism to *fidem*; the result is to throw *iam*, 'further', slightly out of place.

11. *Et quisquam*, 'and after that . . .'. *Et* is often used in this sense to introduce an indignant question, like the Greek *dra*. Cf. 45. 27. *Quisquam* is used because the question is purely rhetorical, i.e. it is really a negative statement in disguise.

13. *nostrae memoriae*, 'of our time'—a genitive of quality or description. Abstract for Concrete.

14. *divino quodam consilio*, 'by special dispensation of Providence'. For *quodam* see note on 23. 3.

§ 43

17. *ea re*, i.e. *auctoritate*, 'prestige'.

21. *in tantis rebus*, 'in such a position that . . . '.

21, 22. *contemnant . . . ament*. The first pair of verbs applies to *hostes*, the second pair to *socii*.

2. *iudicia, vis*. by the honours conferred upon him. Cf. 2. 3.

§ 44

3. *An vero* introduces an example of the *iudicia* mentioned in the previous section, and proves the statement *quod igitur nomen . . . fuit*.

4. *quo=ut eo*, 'so distant that to it . . .'; the subjunctive *pervaserit* being consecutive.

Illius [diei]: if *diei* be retained the reference is to the day on which the proposals of Gabinius were brought before the *Comitia Tributa* in 67 B.C. See Crit. App.

6. *templis*, i.e. the steps of the temples surrounding the *Forum*, especially those of Vesta and of Castor and Pollux on the south-east side, and those of Saturn and of Concordia on the west, at the foot of the Capitol.

7. *commune*, 'in which all were interested'.

9. *ut plura non dicam*. The *non* goes with *dicam* so closely as to form practically a compound word, and *ut* is final. Similar expressions are *ut taceam* and *ut cetera omittam*, 'to say no more'. Some prefer to explain the *ut* as consecutive, in which case the *non* following it is quite regular; normally, of course, the negative final conjunction is *ne*, not *ut non*.

11, 12. *ab eodem . . . sumantur*, 'let us look to Pompeius alone for our example of all that is excellent'.

14. *vilitas*. The truth about this famous anecdote is simply that the speculators in grain, who had been holding their stocks for the rise, now began to realize, and so brought about a falling market. The magnitude of the powers conferred upon Pompeius convinced them that at last the government was in earnest.

ex summa inopia. *Ex* has here a temporal force—'following upon'; but it is used immediately afterwards, in the expression *ex eo proelio*, in a causal sense—'as the result of'. The

connection between the two senses is the idea of one thing arising *out of* another, as effect from cause, or merely as a sequence to it. If the vulg. *ex . . . ubertate* be read in l. 16, *ex* is there also used in a causal sense; but *in* is the better reading.

15. *unius hominis*. The genitive is used in a double sense—objectively with *spe*, 'our hope in', and possessively or subjectively with *nomine*.

§ 45

18. *proelio*: the defeat of Triarius, alluded to in 25. 13 (*paulo ante*).

22. *Quirites*. The insertion of this word here imparts solemnity to the statement.

22, 23. *ad ipsum . . . temporis*, 'to meet the emergency of that critical moment', or 'at the decisive moment of the crisis'. Cf. the phrase *ad tempus*, 'just at the right moment', 'in the nick of time'.

23. *ad eas regiones*, 'to that part of the world', not 'to those regions', as until the proposal of Manilius should become law Pompeius was confined by the terms of the Gabinian law to the Mediterranean area.

2. *imperio atque exercitu*. Hendiadys—'with an army at his back'.

§ 46

5. *illa*, 'the following', as in 3. 11.

7. *longinquis . . . diversis*: in the same sense as *disiunctisimis maximeque diversis* in 9. 24.

9. *a communi Cretensium*. See Crit. App. The word *commune* is frequently used by Cicero in the Verrine orations as = τὸ κοινόν ('federal government'); usually in the abl. case, e.g. *Verr.* ii. 114 (cf. §§ 154, 168) *a communi Siciliae*; *ib.* i. 95, *commune Milyadum*. The κοινόν or Diet of the Cretans was formed at the end of the third century B.C.

10. *noster imperator*, 'a general of Rome', *vis.* Q. Metellus Pius, surnamed Creticus. For *noster* cf. 26. 27.

14. *legatum*. According to all other authorities, Mithridates negotiated with Sertorius, the enemy of Rome, and this Cicero admits in § 9. It has been suggested that Pompeius found a spy (*speculator*) in his camp, and out of vanity pretended that the king wished to open negotiations with him.

15, 16. *quibus erat molestum*, *vis.* Metellus and his circle. Metellus Pius, the colleague of Pompeius in Spain, was his

senior, and saved him from defeat there; but Cicero wishes to cast a slight upon Metellus. As regards the grammar, the subject of *erat* is the whole infinitive clause (*eum*) . . . *esse missum*; the infinitive clause, *speculatorem* . . . *iudicari*, is the object after *maluerunt*.

§ 47

25. *aequum est*. Supply *dicere*, to which *homines* is the subject accusative.

25, 26. *de potestate decorum*, 'about a matter which lies in the hands of the gods'.

1. *Maximo*. Quintus Fabius Maximus. By standing obstinately on the defensive he staved off Hannibal's attack upon Rome in the Second Punic War, and earned by his strategy the surname of Cunctator ('Lingerer'). He held the consulship five times.

Marcello. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse after a two years' siege (212 B.C.). 'He was the spear of Rome, as Fabius was her shield', in the Second Punic War. He fell in a reconnaissance in his fifth consulship (208 B.C.).

Scipioni. Rome saw two great men of this name. If Cicero here alludes to the Scipio mentioned in § 60 (where also the name of Marius follows immediately), Scipio Aemilianus, the younger son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, is meant. He was adopted by Publius Scipio, the eldest son of Scipio Africanus Maior, the conqueror of Hannibal; hence after adoption his name in full would run, P. Corn. Scipio Aemilianus. By his destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., bringing to an end the Third Punic War, he gained the title *Africanus*, which his adoptive grandfather had himself won by his victory over Hannibal at Zama at the end of the Second Punic War in 202 B.C. These two are distinguished as the Elder (*Maior*) and Younger (*Minor*) respectively.

2. *Mario*. Gaius Marius, seven times Consul, born at Arpinum in 157 B.C. He brought the war with Jugurtha in Africa to an end (106 B.C.), and saved Rome from the Cimbric and Teutonic hordes by his victory in 102 B.C. at Aquae Sextiae, in southern Gaul, and at Vercellae in N. Italy in 101 B.C.

ceteris . . . *imperatoribus*: especially Sulla, whose name is omitted in favour of that of Marius to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the people.

5. *quaedam*, 'mysterious', 'inexplicable'; as in §§ 23, 42.

6. *ad*, 'to the attainment of'.

§ 48

16. *ut*: perhaps 'how'; *gesserit* . . . *obsecundarint* being subjunctives in indirect question. Or the *ut* may be consecutive, after *quanta felicitate*.

17. *adsenserint*: more usually a deponent.

18. *venti*: contrast 40. 5.

hoc, 'just this'.

20, 21. *qui* . . . *auderet*: the subjunctive is consecutive—'so presumptuous as to . . .'

22, 23. *illi proprium*: in 22. 2 *proprium* is combined with a genitive; here with the dative (of personal interest) owing to the addition of *perpetuum*.

§ 49

4-6. *quin* . . . *conferatis*: *dubitare* in the sense of 'to hesitate' is generally constructed with an infinitive. As, however, the rhetorical question is virtually negative, *quin* is rightly used here after *dubito*.

4. *boni*: partitive genitive, depending on *hoc tantum*. Cicero means the chance of appointing a general like Pompeius.

5, 6. *in rem publicam conservandam*. The gerundive with a substantive (like the perfect participle passive in similar circumstances) is often equivalent to an English abstract noun—'to the safety and honour of the state'. The usual preposition after *conferre* (a favourite word with Cicero) is *ad*, not *in* as here.

§ 50

8. *erat deligendus*, 'would have had to be chosen'. This is the apodosis of a conditional sentence (the protasis being *quodsi* . . . *esset*). When the condition is represented as not fulfilled in the present, the imperfect subjunctive is used in both protasis and apodosis; but the verb *sum* accompanied by a gerund or verbal adjective (also the verbs *possum*, *debeo*, *oportet*, *decet*, *licet*) are commonly used in a past tense of the indicative in an apodosis where other verbs would require to be in the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. "This is done when the leading proposition may be in a manner conceived as independent of the condition, and valid in itself" (Madvig).

12. *qui habent*, i.e. the other generals at the seat of war—Lucullus, Glabrio, and Marcius Rex.

14. *cetera*: perhaps it is best to understand *quae a vobis commissa sunt*; but some supply *bella*. *Summa* is ablative with *cum salute*—trans. 'to . . .'

15. *bellum regium*, 'war with King Mithridates'.
commendamus: the reading of H.; see Crit. App. If the
 vulg. *committamus* be retained, it is dubitative subjunctive—
 'why should we not . . .'

§ 51

16. *At enim*, 'but you will tell me'. This is a constant formula of introduction of supposed objections, which the orator forthwith demolishes in turn. In Greek ἀλλὰ γὰρ is so used. With this section begins the *refutatio* of the arguments of opponents.

17. *beneficiis*: important magistracies. Cf. 68. 7; 69. 25.

18. *Catulus*. Quintus Lutatius Catulus (son of Q. Lutatius Catulus, the colleague of Marius in 102 B.C. against the Cimbri and Teutones) had been Consul in 78 B.C., and was now *princeps senatus* and leader of the party of the nobles (*Optimates*).

- honoris*, 'public office'; here his consulship in 69 B.C., with Q. Caecilius Metellus, is meant.

- fortunae*: Hortensius was a man of immense wealth.

19. *Hortensius*. Quintus Hortensius, born in 114 B.C., had no rival as a forensic orator until Cicero appeared. The two men were often arrayed on opposite sides, especially in the famous prosecution of Verres for extortion in Sicily (70 B.C.). Hortensius died in 50 B.C.

21. *multis locis*: not local, but temporal—'on many occasions'.

- 22, 23. *cognoscitis . . . contrarias*. The meaning is obscure. Who are the *virī fortissimi* of l. 23? Possibly Catulus and Hortensius, in which case *contrarias* means 'opposed to the proposals of Manilius' (and the reading of H., *cognoscitis* in that case preferable); or the words look forward to § 68, and the *virī* are those there mentioned, in which case *contrarias* means 'opposed to the views of Catulus and Hortensius' (this view gives some colour to the vulg. reading *cognoscetis*).

- 24, 25. *ipsea re ac ratione*, 'by the logic of facts'.

2. *istī*: the opponents of the present measure. See on 19. 23. Trans. 'our friends'.

§ 52

8. *re*, 'facts'. Cicero means the results of the Gabinian law.

13. *promulgasset = promulgavisset*. *Promulgare* is to publish the text of a proposal; this had to be done for the space of a *trinum nundinum*, i.e. three *nundina*, or weeks of eight

days, before the date of meeting of the *Comitia* for voting. Some, however, hold that the minimum interval was seventeen days only, taking *trinum nundinum* to mean for three *nundinae* (= the first day of the eight-day week) counting inclusively after the Roman method. During this interval it was open for any official to summon a public meeting (*contio*) for the purpose of addressing the people on the proposal. On the *nundinae*, however, neither *contio* nor *comitia* could be held.

§ 53

16. *tum*, 'on that occasion', in contrast to the following *hodie*; it is not the inferential *tum* ('then' = 'therefore').

18, 19. *valuisset . . . teneremus*: notice the change of tense, the pluperfect expressing single or momentary action, the imperfect continuous action in present time (the imperfect might also express repeated or continuous action in past time). Such change is, of course, not to be regarded as an irregularity in the construction of conditional sentences. Trans. 'if . . . had prevailed . . . be now possessing'.

19. *hanc gloriam . . . imperium*, 'this glorious world-wide empire'. See note on 23. 18.

21. *legati . . . praetoresque*: *quaestores praetoresque* not in apposition to *legati*, but three different grades of officials are enumerated. For *legati* refer to § 32, where also the capture of two Praetors with their lictors is alluded to; the Quaestors would also be on their staff.

§ 54

2. *satís late*, 'of some extent', *i.e.* large for so early a period, but not to be compared with the extent of the Roman empire. At the height of her power Athens held sway over practically the whole of the Aegean sea, the Propontis, and many of the important towns on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor.

3. *Carthaginensium*. The western third of the Mediterranean was practically a Carthaginian preserve until the outbreak of the First Punic War (264 B.C.). The greater part of Sicily, the whole of Sardinia and Corsica, and the Spanish and North African coasts were in Carthaginian hands.

4. *Rhodorum*. The island of Rhodes attained great eminence as a maritime power after the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.). The Rhodians rendered assistance to Rome in the Mithridatic Wars; but their commerce was ruined when the Romans declared the island of Delos a free port in 168 B.C.

12. *permanens*: the subjunctive is concessive—‘although her name has . . .’; *invictum* must be taken with it as part of the predicate, not with *nomen*.

§ 55

15. *Antiochum*. Antiochus III, the Great, who ruled over Syria from 223 B.C. to 187 B.C. He invaded Greece, but was defeated at Thermopylae (191 B.C.). The Romans next, as a preliminary to carrying the war into Asia, gained the command of the Aegean by several naval battles; in these they were assisted by the Rhodians, who in particular defeated Hannibal and the Syrian fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia.

Perseusque. Perseus, or Perses, was the last king of Macedonia (179–167 B.C.). He was defeated by L. Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.C. As a matter of fact, the Roman fleet did very little in the war, and Perseus surrendered without a blow in Samothrace to the Praetor Cn. Octavius.

16. *omnibusque*: national vanity makes Cicero forget the disasters of the First Punic War, especially the loss of ninety-three ships at Drepanum under P. Claudius (249 B.C.). H. omits the words.

18. 11: this resumes *nos*, with a change of person from first to third, the first being again adopted in the verb (*poteramus*). So *idem* in this same section. Trans. ‘we, I say . . .’.

22. *Delus*. The smallest of the Cyclades, the group of islands occupying the western part of the Aegean sea. During the period of Greek independence it was celebrated as the legendary scene of the birth of Apollo. As early as 168 B.C. it was declared a free port, and so inherited the commerce of Rhodes. After the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. it became the chief emporium of the eastern Mediterranean, a rôle for which its central position on the highway of trade fitted it. It was the chief slave mart of the Roman world. The admirals of Mithridates plundered and ruined the island, which is now deserted.

27. *Appia . . . via*. The *Via Appia*, the ‘queen of Roman roads’, and perhaps the first one built, bore the name of the Censor Appius Claudius Caecus (Censor in 312 B.C.). It ran to Tarracina and thence along the coast until it struck inland to Capua. Subsequently it was continued through Beneventum and Tarentum to Brundisium, and so became the great highway of travellers to and from the East. The ‘Three Taverns’ and ‘Appii Forum’ mentioned in *Acts* xxviii. 15 were stations on this road.

carebamus, ‘were forced to avoid’.

1. *et*, 'and then'; indignant, as in 42. 11, 45. 27.
 3. *exuvils nauticae*: the beaks (*rostra*) of the war-ships of Antium. See note on 1. 2.

§ 56

1. *bono animo*, 'with good intent', 'honest purpose' (= *ex animo*). Usually the phrase means 'with good courage'.

Hortensii. The use of the vocative is no proof that Hortensius was present.

3. *et en*: supply *dicere*.

§ 57

10. *Quo*, 'wherefore'. Cf. 13. 17.

10, 11. *obtrektatum esse*: impersonal; trans. 'the carping opposition to . . .'

11. *anne*: for the simple *an*; *dicam* is deliberative or dubitative subjunctive.

12. *no legaretur*. The *legati* in the army were chosen by the Senate, but the nominations were as a rule in accord with the suggestions or wishes of the commander on whose staff they were to serve. By the *Lex Gabinia* Pompeius was given the right to choose his own *legati*. Two things, however, stood in the way of his nominating Gabinus himself as one of his *legati*. In the first place, Gabinus, being Tribune of the Commons, could not leave Rome during his year of office (67 B.C.). In the second place, the *Lex Licinia* and the second *Lex Aebutia* enacted that neither he who proposed a law for giving a commission for any special purpose (*curatio ac potestas*), nor his colleagues, nor his kin, could directly or indirectly benefit by holding office under its terms (Cic., *Leg. Agr.*, 2. 21). The instances which Cicero adduces, of men who had held the position of *legatus* the year following their tribunate, prove absolutely nothing, as no one denied the possibility or legality of that, provided that the provisions of the *Lex Aebutia* were not infringed. Pompeius allowed his right of choice to lapse to the Senate, and seems to have asked the Senate to nominate Gabinus, in spite of that law, on the expiry of his tribunate in December of 67 B.C. There was no technical objection whatever to Gabinus being *legatus* to Pompeius under the terms of the Manilian proposal, if that became law, and he actually did serve under Pompeius in the Mithridatic War; consequently Cicero's tall talk of his own intentions is meant merely to tickle the ears of the mob.

13. *expetenti ac postulanti*: the participles have a concessive force—'though he . . .'

21. *periculo*: because Gabinius, as the *lator legis*, was responsible for its results; the failure of Pompeius to achieve his task would have been the signal for the prosecution and ruin of Gabinius. Moreover, we are told that Gabinius was all but slain in the Senate-house when he introduced his proposals.

§ 58

1, 2. *Falcidius . . . Lentulus*. Nothing is known of these persons, beyond the inference, drawn from the use of the complimentary phrase *quos . . . nomino* ('whom I mention with all due respect'), that they were living contemporaries of Cicero. Apparently they were not *legati* of Pompeius.

1-4. *An . . . potuerunt*: in grammar, this sentence is coordinate with the following sentence, *in uno Gabinio, &c.*, but in logic is subordinate to it. Trans. 'while Falcidius . . ., are they so scrupulous'.

4. *diligentes*, 'careful to observe minutiae', a word which admits the formal correctness of his opponents' attitude of opposition to the request of Pompeius. To whom does the word refer? Hardly to the persons named, but to 'people' in general.

5. *hoc bello*: the war with the pirates (*hoc*, of course, does not imply that it was still continuing).

gereretur: the subj. gives the ground.

7. *praecipuo iure esse debbat*, 'though he ought to have enjoyed special privileges', taking *praecipuo iure* as an ablative of description. Some prefer to supply the word *legatus*, and trans. 'though he ought by special right to have been on the staff', i.e. he had a better claim than any other man to be nominated; on this way of taking the words, *praecipuo iure* is an ablative of manner equivalent to *potissimum*, and really conceals a protasis ('if claims had been properly weighed', or some such phrase).

9, 10. *ego . . . relaturum*: *ad senatum referre* is the technical term for introducing a motion before the Senate. Cicero, as Praetor, had this right, but anyone who held the same or a higher office might veto the introduction of his motion. The Consuls had in addition the power to issue a decree declaring any particular proposal out of order—to this the word *iniquitas* refers. The possibility of enforcing the prohibition as a standing order for the year would depend entirely upon the personal influence of the Consuls in the House. Finally, the Tribunes of the Commons might veto any course of action, in spite of the Senate's approval of it. As the Tribunes were officers of the people, they would, Cicero here pretends, respect

the popular determination to have Gabinius on the staff of Pompeius.

10. *iniquitas*, 'unreasonableness', as exhibited in a veto.

11. *vestrum ius beneficiumque*: *vestrum* means 'proceeding from you', 'granted by you'—*vis.* the 'right and favour' of naming his own *legati* conceded to Pompeius by the *Lex Gabinia*. The special grant of this right was held by Pompeius to override the provisions of the *Leges Licinia* and *Aebutia*, which blocked his desire to nominate Gabinius himself. Some interpret 'your right (*sc.* to appoint whom you will, in spite of technical obstacles) and your gift' (*sc.* your grant of the position of *legatus* to Gabinius). The words might also mean 'the rights and the office bestowed by you', *i.e.* Cicero's own official position. The obscurity of the whole passage is intentional.

12. *intercessio*, 'the veto', either of a colleague or of a Consul, as above explained, or of a Tribune of the Commons; the latter is what Cicero has especially in his mind.

14. *quid liceat*, 'how far they may go'—in thwarting the popular desire.

14-19. *Mea . . . confect.* This sentence is a good example of Cicero's popular oratory. Though it purports to take the audience into his confidence and to reveal his real thoughts, using the address *Quirites* to arrest attention, the meaning is of the vaguest. What is really the significance of the words *socius adscribitur*? The reason which professes to be stated in the concluding lines is nothing but a meaningless inversion of what is simply a play on words.

§ 59

20, 21. *auctoritate et sententia*. Hendiadys — 'influential opinion'.

21. *dicendum esse videatur*: a very pronounced case of that superfluity to which attention was called in the note on 11. 13, 14. One reason for the superfluity lies in Cicero's excessive fondness for ending his period with the words *esse videatur* or *esse videantur*—a trick which incurred the ridicule of his contemporaries. This combination, with others of the same type (*e.g.* *esse fateantur* in 64. 22, *esse audiat* in 33. 2), occurs more than a dozen times in this speech.

22. *quaereret*: namely, in some *contio* in which he had spoken against the Gabinian proposal.

21 . . . 21, 'if . . . and'.

22, 23. *si quid eo factum esset*, 'and anything happened to

him'; a euphemism like the Greek *εὐτελέω* for dying. In this sense *sio* is constructed with dat. abl. or abl. with *de*.

23. *in quo*: *quo* is interrogative, introducing a dependent question.

25. *cum*, 'in that', implying cause (= *eo quod*, 'by the fact that you all cried'). Cf. *Ad. Fam.* ix. 14. 3, *gratulor tibi cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam*, 'I wish you joy now that you enjoy such influence with D.'

6, 7. *virī . . . virtute*. The editors call attention to the alliteration, but do not suggest what it was intended to convey. It is, of course, merely accidental and of no moment.

§ 60

8. *At enim*: see note on 51. 16. The words *ne quid* introduce the warning or protest of Catulus, and possibly, with what follows, are an actual quotation from his speech.

8, 9. *exempla atque instituta*: trans. as a hendiadys — 'traditional usage'.

9. *Non dicam*: a good example of the rhetorical figure called *praeteritio*, in which the orator professes to omit what he is all the time asserting and emphasizing. It is one of the commonest devices of the public speaker. For other examples in this speech, see §§ 21, *Nam quid ego Ostiense*, &c., and 48. 14. *hoc loco*, 'here', 'at this point'.

11, 12. *novos casus . . . rationes*, 'varied their policy to suit new emergencies' (lit. 'adapted the calculations of new plans to new conditions of circumstances') — a characteristically Ciceronian amplification of the simple *ad nova tempora* (*nova consilia accommodasse*).

13. *Poenicum atque Hispaniense*: the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.), and the war with Viriathus in Spain which was brought to an end by the capture of Numantia (133 B.C.). Note that in §§ 10, 28, *Hispaniense* refers to the last phase of the Civil War, the struggle with Sertorius.

17. *Scipione*: the Younger Scipio. See note on 47. 1. In 147 B.C. he was elected to the consulship, though below the legal age, and standing only for the aedileship. Again, in 134 B.C. he was elected Consul for the Spanish War, in spite of the existence of a law (passed about 150 B.C.) forbidding the holding of a second consulship.

nuper: in reality forty years before the date of this speech.

18. *esse visum*, 'you resolved'. In the case of Marius the standing order forbidding re-election to the consulship was set aside.

20. *Teutonis*: *Teutōni*, not *Teutōnēs*, is the classical prose form.

§ 61

23. [*summa*] . . . *voluntate*: because sanctioned by the *Optimates*, of which party Catulus was the recognized leader. But *summa* (omitted by H.) is clearly an assumption on Cicero's part.

24. *privatum*: not to be taken with *exercitum* but with *adulescentulum*—'that a stripling holding no official position should . . . '.

25. *conficere*, 'to raise', 'to levy'; *confecit*, 'but he did . . . '.

26, 27. *Rem . . . gerere*: alluding to his first victories, over the Marians commanded by L. Brutus and others in 83 B.C. (Momms. 4. 79).

2. *a senatorio gradu*. By Sulla's own regulations (in the *Leges Corneliae* of 81 B.C.) the quaestorship carried with it the right of sitting in the Senate on the expiry of the year of office. The age at which the various magistracies could be held had been fixed indirectly, if not directly, by the *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 B.C. The exact provisions of that *Lex* are unknown, but it seems not to have settled directly the *age* at which magistracies could be held, but to have determined the *order* of their succession (quaestorship, praetorship, consulship), and the minimum *interval* (*vis.* two years) between the holding of one magistracy and the attainment of the next higher magistracy. It appears that the quaestorship could not be held before the twenty-eighth year. Sulla made thirty-seven the minimum legal age, though in practice men were allowed to hold the office after completing their thirtieth year. In any case, Pompeius was below the legal age for a seat in the Senate, as he was only in his twenty-fourth year when Sulla sent him to Sicily in 82 B.C.

5. *gravitate*, 'dignity', always a characteristic of Pompeius.

6. *in Africa*: against Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

7. *deportavit*. *Deportare* is regularly used of bringing home an army by sea.

8. *triumphare*. The right to enter Rome in triumph originally belonged solely to those invested with the *imperium* or supreme military power, *vis.* to Dictators, Consuls, Praetors. In the case of pro-magistrates, independent command was a necessary condition of a triumph, and their *imperium* must also have been continuous, from a magistracy to the pro-magistracy; hence the elder Scipio Africanus, who had been given proconsular command without having held the *imperium* as a magistrate, was refused a triumph in 206 B.C., and so also

L. Corn. Lentulus in 200 B.C. Pompeius, however, twice triumphed before holding any magistracy at all; the importance of his career lay in the fact that he held the *imperium* without having had any civil magistracy.

In a triumph the victorious general (*imperator*), crowned with laurel, entered the city by the *Porta Triumphalis* in a chariot drawn by four horses (*quadriga*). He was preceded by his prisoners of war, the spoils of captured cities, and emblems of his exploits; behind him marched his troops. The procession passed along the *Via Sacra*, through the *Forum*, and up the Capitol Hill, where sacrifice was made to Jupiter. A special ordinance of the people was required to enable the *triumphator* to display his *imperium* within the walls of Rome on the day of his triumph. It was the prerogative of the Senate to decide whether a general's exploits deserved the honour of a triumph (hence *ex senatus consulto triumpharet* in l. 25, below), and certain conditions had to be fulfilled before a triumph was granted. There were, however, notorious instances in which a general who had done nothing to deserve it gained the honour, e.g. Murena in 80 B.C. Cicero's own ambition to enter Rome in triumph for his exploits against the brigands of Cilicia (in 51 B.C.) was thwarted by the outbreak of the Civil War.

9, 10. *vidit . . . visendam*, 'lived to see . . . flock to see'.

§ 62

11. *lausitatum . . . ut*. *Inusitatum* = *contra consuetudinem factum est*, and so can be followed as here by *ut . . . mitteretur* (a consecutive subjunctive in historic sequence). The accusative and infinitive would be the more usual construction, as in 62. 24 and 27, after *novum* (*fuit*) and *praeter consuetudinem*.

consules. The Consuls of 77 B.C., the year in question, were Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus and Decimus Junius Brutus; both declined to take command against Sertorius—hence the point of the gibe of Philippus.

13. *pro consule* = *cum imperio proconsulari*, 'as proconsul'. The form *proconsul* is not usually employed in classical Latin.

17. *Philippus*. Lucius Marcius Philippus, Consul in 91 B.C., when he bitterly opposed the reforms initiated by the Tribune Drusus. In 86 B.C. he was Censor. He had been closely associated with the Marian party, but finally became a supporter of Sulla and Pompeius (see Momms. 4. 269, ed. 1894). As an orator he was celebrated for his caustic wit, of which we have a good specimen here.

19. *constituebatur*, 'was based'; a stronger word than *ponebatur*.

22. *ex senatus consulto*. According to the theory of the constitution, the power to set aside the law in individual cases belonged solely to the people assembled in *Comitia*, but in course of time the Senate usurped this prerogative. The aim of Sulla's legislation had been to give the Senate in law the powers which it had gradually usurped during and since the Punic Wars.

legibus solutus: in the case of the election of Pompeius to the consulship for 70 B.C. two laws were set aside—the *Lex Villia Annalis*, and the *Lex Cornelia* (of Sulla) which enacted that a man must have held the quaestorship and the praetorship before he was qualified for the consulship (see above, on 61. 2).

23. *allum [alium] magistratum*. The question is, are these words to be taken literally? Some hold that Cicero has in mind only the curule offices, *i.e.* the curule aedileship, the praetorship, and the consulship, and that as forty-three was (in Cicero's time; see *Phil.* 5. 48) the legal minimum age for the consulship, and two clear years elapsed between any two magistracies, thirty-seven was the legal minimum age for the curule aedileship. On this view, the expression *allum alium magistratum* is an exaggeration; which may be partially remedied by omitting *alium* (with H.). Others, however, maintain that Cicero's words cannot be restricted to the curule offices, but must be taken literally and cover also the quaestorship. According to Mommsen, thirty-seven was the legal minimum age for the quaestorship, although as a matter of use and wont the law was disregarded (see note on 61. 2). Pompeius was close upon thirty-six when he entered upon his consulship in 70 B.C., so that he was too young for the curule aedileship (according to the first view), and legally, though not as a matter of practice, too young also for the quaestorship (according to the second view). On either view, the real emphasis is on the words *per leges*, and Cicero chooses to insist upon the letter of the law, without reference to the actual practice.

24. *Houisset*. The rule is that when an ideal limit is given, involving a notion of necessary antecedence or purpose, *antequam* or *priusquam* are combined with a subjunctive—e.g. *Priusquam se hostes ex terrore reciperent, in fines Suessionum copias duxit*, 'he led his army into the territory of the Suessiones, before the enemy should recover from their panic'. Here, however, the notion is hardly more than one of simple temporal sequence, and the indicative would have stood quite well. The subjunctive may be due to attraction. The explanation of the *tense* is much more difficult, and in fact it scarcely admits of explanation. Apparently there are only five instances

of the pluperfect subjunctive after *antequam* in Cicero. Possibly the pluperfect is here partly due to the feeling of an apodosis in a conditional sentence of unrealized condition—the protasis being implicit in the words *per leges*, which = *si legum rationem habuisset*.

25. [Iterum]. H. omits, rightly, because the first triumph of Pompeius was not *ex senatus consulto*, but by permission of Sulla as autocrat.

— *eques Romanus*. Pompeius was still only a knight in 71 B.C., on the last day of which year he celebrated his second triumph. For he had held no magistracy, which *ipso facto* would have given him a seat on the Senate after his year of office; nor had there been any Censors appointed since 86 B.C., who might have admitted him to the Senate.

§ 63

6. *illorum auctoritatem*. The Senate had been supreme in the constitution as revised by Sulla, down to the date of the restoration of the tribunician power (*i.e.* of popular sovereignty) in 70 B.C. During the Senate's supremacy the people had not even been asked to ratify many of the extraordinary commands conferred in defiance of the existing laws, *e.g.* the appointment of Pompeius to command in the Spanish War, and the extraordinary powers given to M. Antonius against the pirates in 74 B.C. Cicero now claims the same power for the people.

illorum. As the reference is to the subject of the main verb (*videant*), we should expect *suam*; but *illorum* gives a stronger contrast to *vestrum*.

9. *suo iure*, 'with perfect right'. The confidence of the people in Pompeius had been justified by his success against the pirates. The *iam* shows that there is no reference here to the constitutional sovereignty of the *Comitia*.

13. *praeposueritis*: a final subjunctive, the relative *quem* being equivalent to *ut eum*.

§ 64

15-17. *si . . . fecistis . . . conarentur*. The indicative implies that the speaker has, or pretends to have, an open mind on the question of fact; there is no implication of reality or unreality. In the apodosis the imperf. subj. (*conarentur*, so H., for vulg. *conantur*) referring to pres. time implies unreality. Note that the conditional relationship lies chiefly in the two adverbs—*temere . . . recte*: 'assuming the correctness of your judgment (a point which I do not discuss) . . . they would now be in the right (as in fact they are not) in their action'. The combination

of subj. in the apodosis with an indic. in the protasis is common enough when the leading proposition expresses a wish or a command, as in the next following sentence (see *Madv.* 348, obs. 4).

17, 18. *plus . . . vidistis*, 'displayed deeper political insight'.

20. *principes*: the leaders of the *Optimates*, especially *Hortensius* and *Catulus*.

20, 21. *sibi . . . auctoritati*. Notice the double dative, which, however, is not in this instance ambiguous: *sibi* (and *ceteris*) is the dative of the agent with the gerund; *auctoritati* the ordinary dative required by the verb *pareo*. See note on 6. 7.

22. *bello Asiatico et regio*, 'war with an Asiatic potentate'. The phrase is intended to suggest the idea of wealth and luxury, to the temptations of which all other Roman generals had succumbed.

3. *Syria*. Why is Syria mentioned? From 83 B.C. it was an Armenian satrapy until 69 B.C., when its Armenian governor, *Magadates*, withdrew. Then it was the prey of various robber chiefs until 64 B.C. when *Pompeius* organized it as a province. I cannot discover *Cicero's* reason for mentioning it here in illustration of his point.

interiorum, 'in inner Asia'—the regions to the east of those enumerated; for *Asia*, of course, means only the Roman province so called.

§ 65

9, 10. *quanto in odio sumus*, 'how detested we are'. *In odio esse* is the periphrastic passive of the defective verb *odisse*, 'to hate'.

16, 17. *quibus causa . . . inferatur*, 'against which some pretext for war may be brought'. *Inferatur* is a consecutive, or final, subjunctive, introduced by the relative *quibus* = 'of such sort that . . .'.

facultatem, 'the opportunity or power of plundering', so H.; vulg. *cupiditatem*.

§ 66

18. *coram*: probably 'face to face with', i.e. publicly, rather than 'privately', as *Halm* takes it.

22. *an*, 'or not rather'.

hostium simulatione, 'under pretence of operating against the enemy'—a condensed expression of a type not rare in Latin. Cf. *cas copias, quas diu simulatione rei publicae comparabant*, ('under pretence of defending the state').

24. *non modo* = *non dicam*, 'to say nothing of . . .'. *Non*

modo stands with *sed* (*sed etiam, verum etiam*) following when "it is intended to show that the first clause comprises too much, and that we must abide by the second and more limited one" (Madv.).

1. *collatis signis*, 'in a pitched battle'.

§ 67

8. *Roquam* = *num quam* in impassioned questions, which are really negative statements in disguise—'is there any . . . that'.

pacatam fuisse, 'has been left at peace'.

13, 14. *pecunia publica*, *i.e.* the money voted for the payment of fleets and armies.

14. *praeter pauca*. Cicero suddenly remembers P. Servilius (see below, 68. 3), against whose character nothing could be said, as he was a supporter of the proposal of Manilius; he may have been present among the audience.

15. *classium nomine*: generally taken to mean 'with fleets that existed only on paper'; but *nomine* is more probably 'on the strength, or score, of . . .'.

16. *maiores*: greater than if nothing had been attempted at all. The reference is perhaps to the misuse of power of which M. Antonius, surnamed Creticus, had been guilty. He had been disgracefully defeated by the Cretans. Verres may also be in Cicero's mind.

17. *lacturis*, 'sacrifices', *i.e.* bribes to influential men, to secure appointment.

18. *condicionibus*, 'arrangements', with creditors before leaving Rome. Or it may be merely 'compacts', *i.e.* promises made to supporters in Rome.

videlicet: ironical, as generally.

21. *alienis* = *aliorum*.

§ 68

23. *nolite dubitare, quin*. See note on 49. 4-6.

3. *omnium*, 'of every kind'. Cf. *omni supplicio*, in 11. 23.

Servilius. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, Consul in 79 B.C. In 77 B.C. he was sent against the pirates with a fleet and army, and operated three years against them with success in Lycia, Pamphylia, and Isauria (the southern districts of Asia Minor). He triumphed in 75 B.C.

5. *cum . . . deliberetis*, 'seeing that it is a military question that you are debating'. For this causal sense of *cum*, cf. *cum hieme navigaret*, in 21. 19.

6. **Curio.** C. Scribonius Curio, Consul in 76 B.C. As Proconsul in Macedonia (75-73 B.C.) he fought against the Thracians and the Dardani. He was the first Roman general to reach the Danube. He had some reputation as an orator (hence, *summo ingenio praeditus*).

7. **beneficiis . . . rebus gestis:** to govern these ablatives, some word like *ornatus* must be supplied from *praeditus*. By *beneficiis* his consulship and triumph are meant (cf. 51. 17, 69. 25).

8. **Lentulus.** Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, Consul in 72 B.C. He was one of the *legati* of Pompeius in his war against the pirates. In his consulship he was defeated by the revolted slaves under Spartacus. The words *summam gravitatem* refer to the severity with which he and his colleague purged the Senate in the censorship of 70 B.C.; sixty-four Senators, about one-eighth of the House, were struck off the roll.

9. **pro,** 'answering to', 'as the high offices conferred by you prove'.

11. **Cassius.** C. Cassius Longinus Varus, Consul in 73 B.C. In the following year, as proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul, he was defeated by Spartacus near Mutina (*Modena*).

12, 13. **videte ut . . . videamur:** so H.; *videre* here means 'take care that', 'make sure that', in which sense it is followed by either *ne* or *ut*—'see to it that the weight of our supporters appear to match . . .'. Others translate—'see how . . .'. Madvig conjectured *videte, horumne*, 'consider whether . . .'. *Auctoritatibus* is ablative.

100

14. **Quae cum ita sint,** 'accordingly', introducing the conclusion.

17. **auctore populo Romano,** 'with the support of the Roman people'; it was obvious to which side the popular opinion inclined.

18. **vim aut minas:** that is to say, of the *Optimates*, who had, for example, all but killed Gabinus even in the Senate-house when he introduced his proposals. Manilius himself was actually prosecuted (Plutarch says for peculation) on the expiry of his year of office, and condemned, in spite of Cicero's advocacy.

21. **iterum:** the first time being on the occasion of the passing of the Gabinian law in the previous year.

23. **reficiendi:** *reficio* is the technical term for continuing a term of command; cf. *De Am.* 96, *ferbat legem de tribunis*

plebis reficiendis. Pompeius who received power by the *Lex Gabinia* will be renewed by the *Lex Manilia* (Clark).

25. *beneficio*: explained by the following *potestate praetoria*

1. *daturo*, 'place at the disposal of'.

§ 70

2. *loco temploque*: hendiadys — 'this consecrated spot'. See note on 1. 2. The word *templum* does not necessarily imply a building, but signifies any space marked out in accordance with the sacred rules of augury (from *temno*). Such a *locus inauguratus* or *templum*, 'consecrated ground', was necessary for all dealings with the people, even for a simple *contio*, which, like our own parliamentary proceedings, always began with prayer (*solenne carmen precationis*).

3. *praesident*, 'protect' — those, namely, whose temples surrounded the *Forum*, or overlooked it from the Capitol.

3. 4. *ad rem publicam adeunt*, 'engage in political life'. *accedunt* is the more usual word in this phrase.

5-7. *neque quo . . . neque quo*: *quo* = *ut*. There should have followed an adversative sentence beginning with *sed*, but here the opposition does not appear until § 71, when it takes a different form.

6. *conciliari putem*, 'in the expectation, or thought, of winning' — an instance of the pleonasm of which other examples have been remarked in this speech. Notice the length and — sonorosity of the concluding sentences of the oration.

8. *periculis . . . honoribus*: supply *repellendis . . . adipiscendis*, datives of purpose.

9, 10. *ut . . . oportet*, 'as a man ought'. Some take it to be 'so far as'.

10. *repellemus*: notice the change of person, from *quaeram* — to the plural, which is less egotistical.

honorem, 'official advancement', in general; but, as being already Praetor, Cicero now looks forward to the consulship and he must have that specially in mind.

11. *ex hoc loco*, i.e. as a political orator.

11, 12. *eadem . . . ratione vitae*: his energy as an advocate looking back to the thought with which the oration opened in § 1.

13. *foret*: intransitive use of *fero*, as in the phrases *ut fer opinio*, 'so men think', *si occasio tulerit*, 'if occasion require' and many others.

§ 71

14. *si quid*: a touch of mock modesty. Cf. 2, 8, 9, and note.

14, 15. *mihi susceptum est*. With the past participle of some verbs, and tenses compounded of it, a dative of the possessor is found, practically expressing agency. No strict rule can be given about it. The past fact is thought of as a kind of *possession* or advantage (cf. the English auxiliary *have* of past events). This view is strongly supported by the Latin Dat. of the Agent, which is not common except with Verbals and Past Participles (Roby, § 1146). Evidently *nobis facienda* = 'things for us to do', *nobis facta* = 'things we have got done' (Monro, *Hom. Gr.*, § 143).

16, 17. *tantumque abest ut . . . ut*, 'so far from thinking that . . . I know'. This double *ut* is not very common in classical Latin, though the phrase is generally given as quite unimpeachable.

19, 20. *non inutiles*: equivalent to *utilissimas*; an example of Litotes or Meiosis (understatement).

21-25. *statui . . . oportere*, 'adopted as my principle . . . the obligation'.

24. *commodis et rationibus*, 'considerations of my own interests'.

CRITICAL APPENDIX

The chief authority followed in the present edition is the Harley MS. 2682, a folio of 192 leaves of vellum, written in minuscules of German type of the latter part of the eleventh century. Its readings are taken from the Collation by Mr. A. C. Clark (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Part vii, 1891). The MS. is denoted by the symbol H. By vulg. is meant the reading ordinarily printed in the various editions of C. F. W. Mueller, Karl Halm, and others. Minor divergencies are not noted.

§ 1. 5. *patet*, H.; vulg. *patuit*.

§ 3. 12. [*mihi*]: H. omits; "the word is probably introduced from the preceding line" (Clark).

§ 4. 22. *adfertur*, H.; vulg. *infertur*. *Adfertur* is preferable, because less usual than *infertur*; cp. Phil. 6. 17, *si pacem adferent, cupidum me, si bellum, providum indicatote* (Clark).

24. *arbitratur*, H.; vulg. *arbitrantur*.

§ 6. 7. *a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa*: H. has *nobis et ipsorum causa et rei publicae*, which is perhaps correct.

§ 7. 11. [*Mithridatico*]: H. reads the word.

16. *curavit*, H.; vulg. *denotavit* ("not elsewhere found in Cicero's orations", Eberhard).

2. *Ponto*, H.; vulg. *Ponti*.

§ 9. 18. *posteaquam* . . . *aedificasset*, H.; vulg. *postea, cum* . . . *aedificasset*. *Postquam* (*posteaquam*) is found with the subj. in Cicero only twelve times in all; but a simple, though quite unscientific, correction of *cum* for *quam* is always available (see Fausset, *Pro Cluentio*, § 181, 32). Gildersleeve and Lodge (*Lat. Gr.* § 563, n. 4) remark that if the subj. is to be retained in these passages it is to be explained as due either to Partial Obliquity (whatever that may be), or to the intrusion of the *cum*-Subj. into other temporal constructions. The subj. appears in late Latin.

§ 12. 5. *quo id tandem animo*, H.; vulg. omits *id*.

§ 13. 1. *venerat*, H.; vulg. *venerit*.

3. *taciti rogant*, H.; vulg. *tacite rogant*. The reading of H. follows Cicero's usual idiom; cp. 48. 21, *qui . . . tacitus auderet optare*; Pro Cluent. 6, *ne ipsi . . . taciti cogitationes vestrae subiiciatis*. "He only uses *tacite* four times in the speeches, and there the adj. could not possibly be used, e.g. Pro Quinct. 50, *huic ne perire quidem tacite obscureque conceditur*" (Clark, who also gives other references).

6. *ceteras in provincias*, H.; vulg. *ceteros in provinciam*. See note in *loc*.

8. *adventus*: H. has *aditus*, which is more likely to have been altered to *adventus* than *vice versa* (Clark).

13. *commoretur*, H.; vulg. *commoratur*. "The subj. is more appropriate" (Clark); and had been restored by conjecture by the older edd.

§ 14. 16. *studiosius*, H.; vulg. *studio*. The comp. is preferable, as according better with the contrast between *nulla . . . lacessiti* and *iniuriis provocatos*.

21. *tuendas*, H.; vulg. *tutandas*. "Elsewhere in the speeches Cicero uses the pres. of *tutor* twice, and the perf. *tutatus est* five times, but no other parts" (Clark). See note in *loc*.

§ 15. 6. *pecora relinquuntur*, H. Some edd. restore *pecua* (from *pecu*), which Lewis and Short, quoting this passage, trans. 'the places where cattle are kept, pastures, etc.', though why the word should not retain its usual meaning of 'herds' is hard to see. Servius commenting on Verg. *Georg.* 3. 64 refers to this passage, and appears to have read *pecua*. Other edd. accept an old conj. *pecuaria relinquitur*, i.e. *pecuaria res*, 'business of cattle-farming', or better 'cattle' simply. The phrase *pecuaria res* is used by Cicero in the sense of 'stock of cattle' in Pro Quinct. 3. 12, *erat ei pecuaria res ampla*.

§ 16. 11. *igitur*, H.; some edd. omit.

17. *portibus*, H.; vulg. *portubus*.

17, 18. *in custodiis*, H.; vulg. *custodiis*.

§ 18. 15. [*eorum*]: H. omits ("possibly a corruption of *Romanorum*, a gloss on *civium*"—a suggestion of Nettleship, quoted by Clark).

18, 19. *publicanis . . . recuperare*: a vexed passage. Mueller's text, *nos publicanis omissis vectigalia postea*, etc. keeps nearest to the MSS., which have *amissis*. Something is lost after *publicanis*, or after *vectigalia* (if the latter word is not a gloss which has crept into the text—so Mommsen, who also conj. *nos publica his amissis*, followed by Kayser); or possibly *postea* is corrupt (for *posse ea*?). A simple change is to read *amissa*, but the abl. form is probably correct. There is no real difficulty in the combination *postea . . . recuperare*, as the

infin. is aorist. I have ventured to add one more to the long list of conjectures on the passage.

§ 19. 22. [nos]: H. omits.

25. *amiserunt*, H.; vulg. *amiserant*.

§ 20. 18. *elaborandum*, Kayser; vulg. *laborandum*.

26. *oppressam*, H.; vulg. *obsessam*. The phrase *opprimere urbem* is Ciceronian; cf. Pro Sest. § 112, *capta urbe atque oppressa*. "*Obsidere* and *oppugnare* are generally contrasted, e.g. Livy, 2. 11, *consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis*" (Clark).

§ 21. 2. *atque odio*, in H. alone.

8. *ornata ac referta*, H.; vulg. *ornatas ac refertas*. The neut. had been restored by conj. by several early edd. "The description seems better suited to the palaces (*domicilia*) than to the towns" (Clark). Probably the vulg. arose from the unconscious repetition of 20. 23, 24.

14, 15. *hoc concessi laudis, atque ita . . . ut hac vos intellegatis*: *hoc* and *hac* are the readings of H.; vulg. *haec . . . hoc*. *Concessi* is Eberhard's conj. for the MS. *esse*. Clark suspects that the words *ut . . . intellegatis* are an interpolation from 20. 20, *ut omnes intellegant*, the copyist's eye having strayed from *atque ita* to *atque ut* above. If the reading *esse* be retained, some word would seem to have been lost after *ita* (Momms. conj. *edita*). With the reading adopted in the text *concessi* is easily supplied after *ita*, and *opinor* is parenthetical.

§ 22. 12. *quas a maioribus*, H.; vulg. *quas et a maioribus*. Eberhard conj. *aut . . . aut*.

17. *retardavit*, H.; vulg. *tardavit*.

§ 23. 26, 27. *per animos*, H.; vulg. *animos*. Clark points out that, excluding the present passage, Cicero does not use *pervado* with the accusat. without a preposition.

5. *Tigrani*, H. alone; vulg. *Tigranis*.

§ 24. 8. *fit*, H.; vulg. *fuit*.

9. *illis*, H.; vulg. *iis*.

10. *progressio*, H.; vulg. *processio*—"here a barbarism" (Clark).

§ 26. 20. *qui*, H.; vulg. *quod*.

21, 22. *partim militum . . . partim*: a conj. of Gulielmus; H. has *partim* in the second place; vulg. *partem militum . . . partem*. Cp. In Pis. 48, *cum partim eius praedae . . . devorassent, partim nova luxuries*, etc. See note on 18. 11, 12.

22. *confectis*, H., confirming an old conj.; vulg. *confecti*. See note in loc.

§ 27. 1, 2. *quale hoc esset bellum*, H.; vulg. *quare esset hoc bellum*. H. is right, as the point is not 'wherefore', but as to the fact. The words *genere . . . periculosum* are explanatory of *quale*, and the sentence should be printed as in the text.

§ 28. 18. *atque e pueritiae*, H.; vulg. *atque pueritiae*.

§ 30. 23. [*ipse*]: H. omits. "It may be a variant for *ille*, which has been combined with it" (Clark).

25. *testis [est]* . . . *testis [est]*: "*est* is repeated six times in other MSS. H. has *est* once in l. 23, and in the other five cases omits it. The insertion is uncalled for, and shows the hand of a corrector" (Clark).

§ 31. 13. *omnes terrae, gentes, nationes, maria denique*, H.; vulg. *omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria*. The reading of H. is very vigorous; "why it should be rejected, I cannot guess" (Clark).

§ 33. 16. *potestatem*, H.; vulg. *potestate*. See note in loc.

20. [*ibi*]: H. omits. "*Ibi* can only mean 'off Misenum', and no such battle is known of. I cannot find any note explaining its use here" (Clark).

§ 34. 10. *inde*, MSS.; vulg. *in*. For the omission of the preposition see Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* § 398; cp. Livy, 32. 16, *haec circa Andrum insulam classes coniunctae Euboeam . . . traiecerunt*.

§ 37. 4. *ventum est*, H.; vulg. *ventum sit*.

adferant, H.; vulg. *ferant*. "Cp. 15. 3, *metus ipse adfert calamitatem*; so 25. 13-16, *calamitatem . . . adferret*. *Calamitatem ferre* always means to 'endure calamity'" (Clark).

§ 39. 23. *quicquam*, H.; vulg. *cuiquam*.

enim: H. omits, perhaps rightly.

§ 40. 1. *quae illius sit*: H. has *quae sit*; other MSS. vary between *qua*, *qualis*, and *quali*. Hence Mueller and others print *qua sit*; Halm, *qua ille sit*. I restore *illius*.

§ 42. 12. *permittendum*, H. alone; vulg. *transmittendum*. "*Permittendum* is very idiomatical; cp. 61. 3, *permitti . . . bellum*" (Clark).

§ 44. 4. *quo non illius [diei] nomen [ac fama]*. "H. has a curious reading—*quo non illius dici nomen ac fama illius pervaserit* (*dici* being probably a blunder for *diei*), which looks as if two variants *illius diei nomen*, and *fama illius diei* had become fused. *Nomen* is probably right, and has been glossed by *fama*" (Clark). I suggest the omission of *diei* also, in which case *illius* = *Pompei*. Cicero has just asked *quod nomen* (= *cuius nomen*) *clarius?*

10. *auctoritas*, H.; vulg. *huius auctoritas*. But *huius* is here out of place as the sentiment is general.

14. [*annonae*]: H. omits, and reads also *tanta repentina* for *tanta repente*; probably *repentina* should be restored.

16. *in*, H.; vulg. *ex*.

§ 45. 25. *inflatum*, H.; vulg. *inflammatum*. "*Inflatum* must be right as developing the metaphor in *continuit*; cp. De Leg. Agr. 2. 97, *Quibus illi rebus elati et inflati . . . non continebuntur*" (Clark).

§ 46. 8, 9. *quod a communi Cretensium*. H. reads *quod communi Cret.*, from which Gul. restored the reading in the text, which is accepted by Kayser. "This brilliant reading is the best proof of the superiority of H. No trace of it is found in other MSS." (Clark).

14, 15. [*eum*] . . . [*Pompeius . . . iudicavit*]: bracketed by Eberhard as a gloss.

15. [*semper*]: H. omits; other MSS. vary between *semper erat* and *erat semper*, which has given rise to various conjectures.

17. *iudicari*, H.; vulg. *iudicare*.

§ 47. 24. *ipse*, H.; vulg. *ipso*.

§ 50. 15. *commendamus*, H.; vulg. *committamus*. *Commendo* is the more forcible word (see Clark).

§ 51. 22. *cognoscitis*, H.; vulg. *cognoscetis*. See note in loc.

§ 53. 20. *esse hoc*, H.; vulg. *hoc esse*.

§ 54. 1. *umquam fuit antea*, H.; vulg. *antea umquam fuit*.

6, 7. *quae civitas umquam antea tam tenuis [aut tam parvula insula] fuit, quae*, so H. but without the brackets; vulg. *quae civitas, inquam, antea tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae*. The *quae* before the second *tam* is a conj. of Manutius; *inquam* is due to Halm. It is clear that the bracketed words are an interpolation; perhaps, as Clark suggests, from § 55, *insula Delus . . . parva*.

§ 55. 22. *Delus*, H.; vulg. *Delos*. H. is probably correct.

26. *portibus*, H.; vulg. *portubus*.

1. *nonne*, H.; vulg. *non*.

§ 56. 3. *et ea quae*, H.; vulg. *ea*. "The omission of *et* after *it* is simple" (Clark).

§ 57. 16. *voluerint*, H.; vulg. *voluerunt*.

19-21. *victoriae [eius . . . constitutus]*. All the MSS. are corrupt here; *victoriae* is given by H.; vulg. *gloriae*. "The clause *eius . . . constitutus* can be easily dispensed with, and is

probably taken from the next section, where it is practically repeated, sc. *qui . . . constituit*" (Clark). Eberhard, however, prefers to bracket the latter passage.

§ 58. 5-7. *gereretur . . . debebat*, H.; vulg. *geritur . . . deberet*. The vulg. gives no satisfactory sense.

10. *iniquitas*, H.; vulg. *inimicum edictum*. "While it is easy to see how *iniquitas* could be glossed by *inimicum edictum*, it is difficult to see how the converse could have taken place except from wilful alteration, and this one is not justified in assuming" (Clark).

13. *minitantur*, H.; vulg. *minantur*.

§ 59. 25. *in eo ipso*, H.; vulg. *in ipso*. Some critics bracket the words *vos . . . esse*, or *spem . . . esse*.

1. [*ac tam difficilis*]: H. omits. "The words do not add anything to the sense" (Clark); it is already complete in *tanta*.

§ 60. 13. *Poenicum*, H.; vulg. *Punicum*. *Poenicum* is the older spelling.

§ 61. 23. [*summa*]: H. omits.

§ 62. 23. [*alium*]: H. omits, probably rightly; see note *in loc.*

25. [*iterum*]: H. omits, certainly rightly; see note *in loc.*

29. *vidimus*, H.; vulg. *videmus*.

§ 63. 2. *in eodem homine*, H.; vulg. *in eundem hominem*. Cp. 62. 28, *quae in hoc homine vidimus*.

7. [*semper*]: H. omits. "The sentence is better balanced without it" (Clark).

§ 64. 17. *conarentur*, H.; vulg. *conantur*.

18. *istis*, H.; vulg. *iis*.

§ 65. 16. *facultatem*, H.; vulg. *cupiditatem*.

§ 66. 20. *norunt*, H.; vulg. *noverunt*.

22. *exercitus*, H.; vulg. *exercitum*.

3. *qui a pecuniis*, H.; vulg. *qui se a pecuniis*.

4, 5. *qui ab . . . oppidorum*: found in H. alone.

§ 67. 14. *nos*, H.; vulg. *eos*.

15. *consequi*, H.; vulg. *adsequi*.

17, 18. *et quibus . . . quibusque*, H. (which also reads *iniuriis* for vulg. *iacturis*); vulg. *et quibus . . . quibus*.

§ 68. 24. *inventus est*, H.; vulg. *inventus sit*.

11. *veritate*, H.; vulg. *virtute*. "Cp. Verr. Act. Pr. § 51, *veritatis, integritatis, fidei*. The confusion is common" (Clark).

12. *eorum*, H.; vulg. *illorum*.

§ 69. 23. *reficiendi*, H.; vulg. *perficiendi*. The reading of H. "has met with undeserved neglect" (Clark). See note *in loc*.

§ 71. 14. *si quid*, H.; vulg. *quicquid*.

21. [*vestris*]; H. omits.

VOCABULARY

A., *abbrev. for Aulus.*
Ab, *prep. with abl. from, by, since.*
abditus, -a, -um, *part. adj. (abdo)*, concealed, secret.
absens, -entis, *part. (absum)*, absent, in absence.
absum, **absesse**, **absui**, *intr.* be absent, be away, distant.
ac, *atque, conj. and.*
accidō, -cidi, *v. 3*, happen, befall, come to pass.
accipio, -cipi, -ceptum, *v. 3*, accept, receive, hear.
accommodō, -avi, -atum, *v. 1*, adapt, adjust, fit.
accuratus, -a, -um, *adj.* finished, exact, elaborate, wrought with care; *superl. adv.* accuratissime.
acer, **acris**, **acerē**, *adj.* keen, bitter; *comp.* acrior; *sup.* acerrimus.
Achacē, -ae, *f.* Achaea.
ad, *prep. with acc. to, for; like apud, at, near, with.*
adduco, -xi, -ctum, *v. 3*, bring, conduct, lead.
adeo, -ire, **adii**, **aditum**, *v. 4*, approach, go or come to, visit.
adē, *adv.* to such a degree.
With conj. to introduce a more important aspect of the matter, or to make a correction—indeed, atque adeo.
adfero, **adferre**, **attuli**, **allatum** (or **adiatum**), bring, contribute, bring forward, produce.
 (B 102)

adflō, -feci, -fectum, *v.* affect, visit, treat with.
adfigo, -fixi, -fictum, *v. 3*, to attach, to add to.
adflatus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (adfligo), cast down, dejected, shattered.
adhuc, *adv.* still, hitherto, as yet, thus far.
adimo, -emi, -emptum, *v. 3*, take from, remove, deprive.
aditū, -ūs, *m.* approach, pathway.
adjuvamentum, -i, *n.* means of aid, help, assistance.
adiungo, -iunxi, -iunctum, *v. 3*, join, attach.
adlucō, -luci, -lectum, *v. 3*, allure, entice, attract.
administrā, -as, *f.* assistant, handmaid.
administrō, -avi, -atum, *v. 1*, manage.
admō, -ui, -itum, *v. 2*, remind, put in mind of.
admurmuratio, -ōnis, *f.* murmuring, murmur of assent.
adorno, -avi, -atum, *v. 1*, provide, furnish, equip.
adparō, -avi, -atum, *v. 1*, prepare for, make ready.
adscribo, -scripsi, -scriptum, *v. 3*, reckon, included.
adsentis, -ensui, -ensum, *v. 4*, agree with, approve of.
adequor, -secutus or -sequutus, *v. 3 dep.* gain.

adadūtilis, -ātis, *f.* application.
adsum, adesse, **adui**, be present, at hand.
adūlescens, -entis, *m.* youth, young man.
adulescentia, -ae, *f.* youth.
adulescentulus, -i, *m.* a very young man.
adventicius, -a, -um, *adj.* foreign, incidental.
adventus, -ūs, *m.* coming, arrival.
aedifico, -avi, -ātum, *v. 1*, build.
Aegaeus, -a, -um, *adj.* Aegean (sea).
aegrē, *adv.* of aeger, -gra, -grum, hardly, with difficulty; *compar.* aegrius.
aequus, -a, -um, *adj.* right, proper.
aerarium, -ii, *n.* treasury (part of the temple of Saturn in Rome).
aestas, -ātis, *f.* summer.
aetas, -ātis, *f.* age, lifetime, generation, years. The context often shows that it signifies 'youth'.
Aetolus, -a, -um, *adj.* Aetolian; as *subst.* Aetolus, -i, *m.* an Aetolian.
Africa, -ae, *f.* the province of Africa, originally the territory of Carthage, made a Roman province in 146 B.C., corresponding to the modern Tunis.
Africanus, -a, -um, *adj.* of, or belonging to, or in, Africa.
agē (*imperat. of ago*), come, come now, well (*often combined with 1st or 2nd person plur.*).
ager, agri, *m.* land, territory.
agito, -avi, -ātum, *v. 1*, excite, alarm.
agnosco, -nōvi, agnītum, *v. 3*, recognize, acknowledge, identify.
ago, -egi, actum, *v. 3*, do, act, do something; speak, plead

(of a speaker); consult or deal with people (of a magistrate); **res agitur**, to be at stake.
ait (aio), *defect. verb 3rd sing. pres.* say, affirm.
alienus, -a, -um, *adj.* that belongs to another, another's, foreign.
aliquando, *adv.* at length, at last.
aliquis, **aliquid**, *indef. subst. pron.* someone, somebody, anyone, some or certain.
aliquot, *indef. indecl. num.* some, several.
alius, -a, -ud, *adj. and subst.* another, other; **alius...alius**, the one...the other; *in pl.* some...others.
alter, **altēra**, **altērū**, *adj.* the other (of two), the second; **alter...alter**, the one...the other.
amans, -ntis, *part. adj.* (amo); with *gen.* fond of; *superl.* **amantissimus**.
amicus, -a, -um, *adj.* friendly, well-disposed; *superl.* **amicissimus**; *subst.* **amicus**, -i, *m.* friend.
Amisus, -i, *f.* Amisus, a town of Pontus.
amitto, -misi, -missum, *v. 3*, lose.
amo, -avi, -ātum, *v. 1*, love.
amoenitas, -ātis, *f.* pleasantness, charm.
amplifico, -avi, -ātum, *v. 1*, extend, enlarge.
amplitudo, -inis, *f.* greatness, distinction, consequence.
amplūs, -a, -um, *adj.* large, great, dignified, important; *superl.* **amplissimus**.
an, *conj.* or, whether. *Introducing rhetorical questions almost= num.*, 'do you really?' with *vero*, 'can it be that?'
anceps, **ancipitis**, *adj.* on both

or deal
strate);
like.
sing.
at be-
other's,
th, at
subst.
body,
some,
subst.
alus,
in pl.
y. the
cond;
... the
amo);
superl.
endly,
ami-
s, -i,
wn of
v. 3,
re.
ness,
t, ex-
ness,
reat.
perl.
ntro.
s at-
lly?
?
both

sides, in two places (*so often*
doubtful, uncertain, danger-
ous).
animus, -i, *m.* mind, spirit, feel-
ings, intention; *in pl.* pride,
arrogance.
anne, *conj.* or.
annōnā, -ae, *f.* yearly produce,
especially grain.
annus, -i, *m.* year.
antē, *prep.* with accus. and adv.
before.
antē, *adv.* before, previously.
antecellō, antecellere, *v.* 3 *defect.*
rise above, surpass, excel.
Antiochus, -i, *prop. name*, Anti-
ochus.
antiquitas, -atis, *f.* antiquity,
ancient times.
āpertus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* open,
manifest.
appello, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, call,
accost, address.
appetō, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v.* 3,
grasp at, reach after, be eager
for.
Appius, -i, a Roman praenomen,
especially of the Claudian gens;
adj. Appian, -a, -um (*via*
Appia), Appian, built by Ap-
pius.
apud, *prep.* with acc. at, in pre-
sence of, among, with.
arbitror, -atus, *v.* 1 *dep.* think,
suppose, imagine.
argentum, -i, *n.* silver, plate.
Ariobarzanes, -is, *m.* proper
name, Ariobarzanes, king of
Bithynia.
arma, -ōrum, *n. plur.* arms.
Armēnius, -a, -um, *adj.* of Ar-
menia; *as subst.* Armenius, -i,
m. an Armenian.
ars, artis, *f.* art, skill, method.
Asia, -ae, *f.* Asia.
Asiaticus, -a, -um, *adj.* Asiatic.
assequor, -sequi, -secutus, *v.* 3
dep. achieve.
at, *conj.* but; at vero, but cer-

tainly, but assuredly; at enim,
but you will say.
Athēniensis, -e, *adj.* Athenian.
atque, *conj.* and, and in fact.
attēnō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, im-
pair, diminish, lessen in im-
portance.
attingo, -tigi, -tactum, *v.* 3,
touch, lay hands on, arrive at,
adjoin.
auctor, -oris, *m.* author, adviser,
instigator, supporter.
auctoritas, -atis, *f.* authority, in-
fluence, declaration of opinion.
audē, ausus, *v.* 2, dare, ven-
ture.
audio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4,
hear, hear of, listen to.
auferō, auferre, abstuli, abla-
tum, *v.* 3, carry off, take away.
Aulus, -i, *m.* proper name, Aulus
(*abbrev. A.*).
auris, -is, *f.* ear.
aurum, -i, *n.* gold.
aut, *conj.* or; aut ... aut, either
... or.
autem, *conj.* but, however, more-
over, now.
auxilium, -ii, *n.* help, aid.
avaritia, -ae, *f.* greed, avarice.
avidus, -a, -um, *adj.* greedy.
avitus, -a, -um, *adj.* ancestral.
barbarus, -a, -um, *adj.* barbarian,
foreign.
beatus, -a, -um, *adj.* happy,
blessed; *superl.* beatissimus.
bellicosus, -a, -um, *adj.* warlike.
bellō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, wage
war.
bellum, -i, *n.* war.
beneficium, -ii, *n.* favour, bene-
fit, kindness, distinction or
honour conferred by the
people.
bini, -ae, -a, *distrib. num.* two
each, two.
Bithynia, -ae, *f.* Bithynia, a
province of Asia Minor.

bĕnā (*n. plur. of bōnus*), -ōrum, goods, property, fortune.
bōnus, -a, -um, *adj.* good, excellent, loyal; *comp.* mēlior, -us; *superl.* optimus, -a, -um.
Bosporāni, -ōrum, people near the Cimmerian Bosporus (Crimea).
brēvis, -e, *adj.* short, small.
brēviter, *adv.* briefly, shortly; *superl.* brevissimē.
Brundisium, -ii, Brundisium in S. Italy (now *Brindisi*).
C., *abbreviation for* Caius, Gaius.
Caelius, -ii, Roman gentile name, Caelius.
caelum, -i, *n.* sky, heaven.
Caietā, -ae, *f.* Caieta, a coast town of Latium.
Caius, Gaius, a Roman praenomen.
cālāmitas, -ātis, *f.* calamity, damage, injury, misfortune.
cāpio, cāpi, captum, *v.* 3, take, capture, receive, reap fruit of, contain, hold.
Cappadōciā, -ae, *f.* Cappadocia, a district in north-east of Asia Minor.
cārēō, -ūi, -itum, *v.* 2, be without, be deprived of.
cāritās, -ātis, *f.* dearness, high price.
Carthāginiensis, -e, *adj.* of or belonging to Carthage.
Carthāgō, -inis, *f.* Carthage, in North Africa.
Cassius, -ii, Roman gentile name, Cassius.
castē, *adv.* purely, virtuously, disinterestedly.
castus, -a, -um, *adj.* pure, disinterested.
cāsus, -ūs, *m.* chance, accident.
Cātulus, -i, *m.* a cognomen in the *gens* Lutatia.
causā, -ae, *f.* cause, reason, sub-

ject, subject-matter, cause or case (in legal sense), interests.
causā, *abl. with gen. or poss. adj.* for the sake of, on account of.
cēlēbēr, -bris, -bre, *adj.* frequented, thronged; *superl.* celeberrimus.
cēlērītās, -ātis, *f.* speed, quickness.
cēlērītēr, *adv.* quickly, speedily.
centūriā, -ae, *f.* century (Roman electoral unit).
centūriātūs, -ūs, *m.* the post of centurion.
certē, *adv.* certainly, surely, at least, at all events.
certūs, -a, -um, *adj.* certain, sure, fixed, unfailing, definite.
cēteri, -ae, -a, *adj.* the rest, the others.
Ciliciā, -ae, *f.* Cilicia, a district of south-east Asia Minor.
Cimbri, -ōrum, *m.* a people of north Germany.
cingo, cinci, cinctum, *v.* 3, surround, encircle.
civilis, -e, *adj.* civic, of citizens, civil.
civis, -is, *m.* a citizen.
civitas, -ātis, *f.* state, community.
clārus, -a, -um, *adj.* famous, illustrious, clear, plain, evident; *compar.* clarior, *superl.* clarissimus.
classis, -is, *f.* fleet, navy.
claudō, claudi, clausum, *v.* 3, shut, close, block.
Cnēius, *abbrev.* Cn.
Cnidūs, -i, *f.* Cnidus, a town in Asia Minor.
coepti, coeptare (*perf. used as pres.*), *v. defect.* begin, commence, start.
cōgito, -āvi, -itum, *v.* 1, think, conceive.
cōgnitiō, -ōnis, *f.* acquaintance, investigation.
cognosco, -gnōvi, -gnitum, *v.* 3, know, recognize, acknowledge.

cause or
interests.
poss. *adj.*
ount of.
fj. fre-
superl.
quick-
eedily.
Roman
post of
ely, at
ertain,
efinite.
e rest,
istrict
r.
ple of
3, sur
tizens,
unity.
mous,
evi-
superl.
v. 3,
wn in
ed as
com-
hink,
ance,
v. 3,
edge

cōgo, cōgē, cōactum, v. 3, compel.
cōhaerē, -haesi, -haesum, v. 2,
to be united with, connected
with.
cōhibeo, -hibui, -hibitum, v. 2,
hold in check, keep from.
collātus, -a, -um, part. adj.
(confero), brought together;
collatis signis, 'in pitched
battle'.
collectio, -ōnis, f. a collecting.
colligo, -lēgi, -lectum, v. 3,
collect, gather.
collōcō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, to
place, put, invest.
Colophōn, -onis, f. Colophon, a
town in Lydia (Asia Minor).
cōmēs, -itis, m. or f. companion.
cōmītia, -ōrum, n. plur. the
elections; *the singular, cō-*
mītium, -ii, the place of as-
sembly.
commētiūs, -ūs, m. intercourse.
commēmōro, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,
relate, mention, recall.
commendo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,
commend, entrust to.
commō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, go to,
frequent, resort to.
committo, -misi, -missum, v. 3,
commit, entrust; *with se,* com-
mit one's self, expose one's self.
commōdum, -i, n. advantage,
profit.
commōrō, -ātus, v. 1 dep.
delay, wait, stay.
commōveo, -mōvi, -mōtum, v. 2,
move, stir, agitate, disquiet.
commūne, -is, n. subst. com-
munity, state.
communis, -e, adj. common,
general.
comparatiō, -ōnis, f. preparing,
preparation.
compārō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, fur-
nish, get ready.
complētus, -a, -um, part. adj.
(compleo), fill, throng.
complēres, -a and -ia, gen. -ium,

adj. plur. on subst. several, very
many.
comprōbō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, ap-
prove, sanction, acknowledge.
concedo, -cessi, -cessum, v. 3,
grant, allow, admit.
concolōbrō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, pub-
licly celebrate, solemnize.
concerto, -lvi, -ātum, v. 1, fight
with, contend or strive with.
concido, -cidi, v. 3, fall, collapse,
come to grief.
concillo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, gain
over, win, conciliate.
concupio, -cēpi, -ceptum, v. 3,
receive, incur.
concito, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, stir up,
excite.
concupisco, -pēvi or -pēi, -pītum,
v. 3, covet.
conditio or condicio, -ōnis, f.
agreement, compact, terms,
condition.
confēro, conferre, contāli, col-
lātum, v. contribute, direct,
apply; *with se,* to betake
one's self.
conficio, -fēci, -fectum, v. 3, com-
plete, accomplish, finish, de-
stroy, wear out, reduce to sub-
jection, levy (an army).
confirmo, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,
strengthen, establish, prove,
hearten, assert, affirm.
confiteor, -fessus, v. 2 dep. con-
fess.
configo, -fixi, -fictum, v. 3, con-
tend, fight.
congērō, -gessi, -gestum, v. 3,
bring together, collect.
coniectura, -ae, f. conjecture,
inference.
coniungo, -nxi, -notum, v. 3, join,
unite, join in prosecuting.
coniunx (coniux), coniūgis, m.
and f. consort, husband, wife.
cōnor, -ātus, v. 1 dep. try, at-
tempt.
conquiescō, -quiesvi, -quiesum,

v. 3, be inactive, stand still, cease.
consequor, -sequutus or -sequutus, *v. 3 dep.* follow, follow up, gain, win, effect, make.
conseruo, -serui, -seruum, *v. 1,* save, preserve.
considero, -serui, -seruum, *v. 1,* consider, meditate, reflect on.
consilium, -li, n. plan, policy, measures, sagacity.
conspiciō, -spici, -spicium, *v. 3,* observe, behold.
constantia, -ae, f. constancy, steadfastness.
constituo, -tuo, -tuum, *v. 3,* fix, establish, determine, decide.
constitutio, -tio, f. custom, habit, practice, precedent.
consul, -ulis, m. consul (one of the two chief magistrates elected annually at Rome).
consularis, -e, adj. consular, of consular rank; *subst.* **consularis, -is, m.** one who has held the office of consul, ex-consul, one of consular rank.
consulto, -tulo, -tuum, *v. 3, with acc.* consult, ask opinion; *with dat.* consult for a person or thing, provide for, have regard to interests of.
consulto, adv. deliberately, purposely.
consultum, -i, n. decree, resolution.
contemno, -tempni, -temptum, *v. 3,* despise.
contendo, -di, -tum, *v. 3,* contend with, engage.
contentio, -tio, f. struggle, contest, comparison, contrast.
contentus, -a, -um, part. adj. contented, satisfied.
continentia, -ae, f. temperance, self-control, moderation.

continēdo, -ui, -tentum, *v. 2* restrain, control.
continuus, -a, -um, adj. continuous, uninterrupted.
contra, prep. with acc. against, in opposition to.
contrarius, -a, -um, adj. contrary, opposed.
conuenit, 3rd sing. pres. (conuenio) used impersonally, to be suitable, becoming, appropriate.
copia, -ae, f. abundance, riches, copiousness ('material'), plenty.
copiae, -iarum, as military term, forces, troops.
opulentus, -a, -um, adj. rich, opulent.
coram, adv. openly, face to face, in one's presence.
Corinthus, -i, f. Corinth, in Greece.
cotidianus, -a, -um, adj. daily.
cotidie, adv. daily.
credo, -didi, -ditum, *v. 3,* believe, think, entrust, confide to; *phrase, mihi credite,* believe me.
creasco, creui, cretum, *v. 3,* increase, grow.
Cretensis, -e, adj. Cretan, of Crete; *subst.* **Cretensis, -is, m. f.** a Cretan.
culpa, -ae, f. fault.
cultura, -ae, f. cultivation.
cum, conj. when, since, seeing that.
cum...tum, not only...but also; both...and; while...especially.
cum, prep. with abl. with, in company of; *enclitic with pers. pron.* **meum, tecum, secum, nobiscum, &c.**
cunctus, -a, -um (more frequent in plur. cuncti, -ae, -a), adj. all.
cupiditas, -atis, f. desire, greed, longing.

m, v. 2,

adj. con-
d.

against,

adj. con-

res. (con-

ually, to

g, appro-

e, riches,

l'), plen-

ry term,

dj. rich,

to face,

inth, in

f. daily.

3, be-

confide

ite, be-

v. 3,

tan, of

is, -is,

n.

seeing

at also;

pecially.

ith, in

h pers.

ecum,

requen-

), adj.

greed,

cūpidūs, -a, -um, adj. avaricious, grasping.

cūpio, -īvi or -īl, -itum, v. 3, desire, wish.

cur, adv. why, wherefore.

cūrā, -ae, f. care, anxiety.

Curio, -onis, m. Curio.

cursus, -ūs, m. course, journey, career.

custodia, -ae, f. customs-house.

Cyzicēnus, -a, -um, adj. of or belonging to Cyzicus, in north-west Asia Minor on the *Sea of Marmora*; *subst.* **Cyzicēnus, -i, m.** a citizen of Cyzicus.

dē, prep. with abl. from, down from, about, concerning, for.

dēbēō, -ūl, -itum, v. 2, to owe, to be indebted to, be bound to, be under an obligation to (I ought, should, must, &c.).

declārō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, announce, proclaim.

decūma (decūma, sc. pars.), -ae, f. a tenth part, tithe.

dēditō, -ōnis, f. capitulation, surrender.

dēdō, dedīdī, deditum, v. 3, give up, surrender.

dēfendō, -di, -sum, v. 3, defend, champion.

dēfēro, -ferre, -tūlī, -lātum, v. 3, bring, report, lay before, put into hands of.

dēindō, adv. afterwards, then, in the second place.

dēlābōr, -lapsus, v. dep. 3, descend.

delectātiō, -ōnis, f. delight.

dēlēō, -lēvi, -lētum, v. 2, destroy, erase, wipe away.

dēliberātiō, -ōnis, f. deliberation.

dēlibēro, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, deliberate.

dēligo, -lēgi, -lectum, v. 3, choose, select.

Dēlōs, -i, f. Delos, an island in the Aegean Sea; one of the Cyclādes.

dēnique, adv. at last, at length, finally, in a word.

dēnotō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, to mark or point out, indicate, designate, specify.

dēpellō, -pūlī, -pulsum, v. 3, drive away, remove, beat off.

dēportō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, carry away from a province, bring home.

dēposcō, -pōposci, v. 3, demand, claim.

dēprecātōr, -ōris, m. intercessor.

dēprīmo, -pressi, -pressum, v. 3, crush, overwhelm.

dēprōmō, -prompsi, -promptum, v. 3, draw forth, bring out.

dēstrō, -rtum, v. 3, forsake, desert, abandon.

dēsīdērium, -īl, n. regret, longing for, desire.

dēsūm, -esse, -fui, v. irreg. fail, am wanting.

dētrāho, -xi, -ctum, v. 3, take away from.

dētrīmentum, -ī, n. loss, harm, damage.

dēūs, -ī, m. (plur. di, dei, dii), god.

dēvōcō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, call aside.

dīco, -xi, -ctum, v. 3, say, tell, assert, address the people

dictu, supine of dico, to say.

dīcō, -ei, m. day (*in sing. sometimes fem.*).

dīffērō, differre, distūlī, dīlātum, v. 3, to differ from

dīffīcīlis, -e, adj. difficult.

dīffīdō, -fīsus, v. 3, to despair, be hopeless.

dīgnitas, -tātis, f. dignity, high rank, greatness, glory.

dīgnus, -a, -um, adj. worthy,

- deserving; *superl. dignissimus.*
disiunctus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* separated from.
dislatio, -ōnis, *f.* postponement.
diligens, -entis, *adj.* careful, scrupulous, conscientious.
diligenter, *adv.* diligently, carefully; *compar. diligentius, superl. diligentissime.*
diligō, dilexi, dilectum, *v.* 3, love, prize, esteem.
dimico, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, contend, fight.
dimitto, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, dismiss, disband.
diripio, -i, -eptum, *v.* 3, plunder, sack.
discēdo, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3, depart.
disciplinā, -ae, *f.* discipline, training, knowledge, skill.
discrimen, -inis, *n.* danger.
disiunctus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* separated, distant, remote from one another; *superl. disinnotissimus.*
dispersus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (dispergo), scattered.
disputō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, debate, argue, investigate.
dissentiō, -sensi, -sensum, *v.* 4, differ in opinion, disagree, dissent.
dissepo, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, scatter, strew.
districtus, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (from *distingo*, *v.* 3), busied, engaged, occupied.
diu, *adv.* a long time, long; *superl. diutissime.*
diuturnitas, -tatis, *f.* duration.
diuturnus, -a, -um, *adj.* of long duration, lasting.
diversus, -a, -um, *adj.* different, opposite, in different quarters of the globe.
dividō, -visi, -visum, *v.* 3, separate, divide.
divinitus, *adv.* by providence, providentially, sent from heaven.
divinus, -a, -um, *adj.* divine, inspired.
divitiae, -iarum, *f. plur.* riches, wealth, treasure.
dō, dēdi, dātum, dāre, *v.* 1, give.
docēo, docui, doctum, *v.* 2, teach, instruct, inform.
dolor, -oris, *m.* pain, grief, distress.
domicilium, -ii, *n.* abode, home, dwelling.
dōmus, -ūs, *f.* home, house; *locative*, domi, at home.
dubitō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, doubt, hesitate.
dubius, -a, -um, *adj.* uncertain, doubtful.
ducō, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, think, deem, derive; (*in passive often* = 'originate').
ductus, -ūs, *m.* leadership.
dūm, *conj.* while, whilst (*with indic.*); until (*with subj.*).
dūo, -ae, -o, *num. adj.* two.
duōdecim, *num.* twelve.
dux, dūcis, *m. and f.* leader, chief.
ex or *ex*, *prep.* with *abl.* out of, from, by reason of.
ecquis, *ecquid*, *interrog. pron.* is there any who?
edictum, -i, *n.* edict, proclamation.
ēdūco, -xi, -ctum, *v.* 3, lead forth.
efficio, -feci, -fectum, *v.* 3, effect, achieve.
effugio, -fugi, *v.* 3, escape.
ego, *mei*, *pers. pron.* I.
ēgrēgius, -a, -um, *adj.* excellent, eminent.
eiusmodi, of that sort.
ēlabōrō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, work hard, work out, elaborate.
ēmergō, -merui, -mersum, *v.* 3, emerge, come forth.

anim, *conj.* for.

equēs, -**itis**, *m.* horseman, knight;
in plur. **equites**, the order of
knights at Rome.

equitātūs, -**ūs**, *m.* cavalry.

eruptus, -**a**, -**um**, *part. adj.*
(eripio), torn away, wrested
from.

erigo, **erexi**, **erectum**, *v.* 3, raise
up, encourage, cheer up.

erūdīo, -**ivi** and -**ī**, -**itum**, *v.* 4,
educate, teach, instruct.

ascendō, -**di**, -**sum**, *v.* 3, mount,
ascend.

et, *conj.* and, also, even.

et...et, both...and.

etiam, *conj.* and indeed, and in
fact.

etiam, *conj.* also, even, yet;
etiam atque etiam, again and
again.

etiam, *conj.* even if, although.

ex or **ē**, *prep.* with *abl.* out of,
from, by, in accordance with.

excello, -**cellī**, -**celsum**, *v.* 3,
excel, surpass.

excipio, -**cēpi**, -**ceptum**, *v.* 3, re-
ceive, welcome, give shelter to.

excitō, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, rouse,
excite, inflame.

exorūcio, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, tor-
ture, rack, afflict.

excursiō, -**ōnis**, *f.* inroad.

exemplum, -**i**, *n.* example, pre-
cedent.

exerco, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 2, em-
ploy, train, manage (of the
public taxes).

exercitatio, -**ōnis**, *f.* practice.

exercitātus, -**a**, -**um**, *part. adj.*
versed in, skilled in; *superl.*

exercitissimus.

exercitūs, -**ūs**, *m.* army.

exigo, -**ēgi**, -**actum**, *v.* 3, to
exact, collect.

eximius, -**a**, -**um**, *adj.* distin-
guished, excellent.

existimo, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, think,
judge, consider, reckon.

exitūs, -**ūs**, *m.* end.

exorsūs, -**ūs**, *m.* beginning, open-
ing subject (of speech).

expello, -**pūli**, -**pulsum**, *v.* 3,
drive out.

expers, -**itis**, *adj.* having no
share in, not privy to, free
from, destitute of, without.

expetō, -**ivi**, -**itum**, *v.* 3, desire,
wish for.

expilō, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, plunder,
pillage.

explico, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, free,
rescue.

explōrō, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, ex-
plore, investigate, examine.

exportō, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, export.

expugnātiō, -**ōnis**, *f.* a taking
by storm or assault.

exquirō, **exquisivi**, **exquisitum**,
v. 3, search for, inquire after.

existo, **existiti**, *v.* 3, stand forth.

expectātiō, -**ōnis**, *f.* expectation.

expectō, -**āvi**, -**ātum**, *v.* 1, ex-
pect, wait for, hope for, look
for.

extinguo, -**uxi**, -**netum**, *v.* 3,
put out, quench.

extērus, -**a**, -**um**, *adj.* foreign.

extrēmus, -**a**, -**um**, *adj.* (*superl.*
of **extērus**), utmost, extreme,
last, at the end.

extūro, -**uxi**, -**ustum**, *v.* 3, burn
down, destroy by fire.

extūvīa, -**ārum**, *f.* spoils.

facile, *adv.* easily; *compar.* **fa-**
cilius.

facilis, -**e**, *adj.* easy.

facilitās, -**ātis**, *f.* affability, cour-
tesy, ease.

facio, **feci**, **factum**, *v.* 3, do.

facultās, -**ātis**, *f.* power, oppor-
tunity, ability, capacity.

Falcidius, a Roman gentile name.

falsō, *adv.* falsely.

falsus, -**a**, -**um**, *adj.* false.

fama, -**ae**, *f.* fame, reputation,
character, report.

- famīliā**, -ae, *f.* establishment of slaves.
- fānum**, -i, *n.* shrine, sanctuary.
- felicitās**, -ātis, *f.* luck, good-fortune.
- ferē**, *adv.* generally, usually, as a rule.
- ferendus**, -a, -um, *gerundive* (fero), tolerable, to be borne.
- ferō**, ferre, tūli, lātum, *v. irreg.* bear, bring, allow.
- fertilis**, -e, *adj.* fertile, productive, rich.
- fidēs**, -ei, *f.* faith, honesty, faithfulness, loyalty, conscientiousness, credit.
- finis**, -is, *m.* end, limit, border, frontier, territory.
- finitimus**, -a, -um, *adj.* neighbouring, adjoining.
- fio**, fieri, factus (used as *pass.* of facio), to become, happen, be done.
- firmamentum**, -i, *n.* prop, support, stay.
- firmus**, -a, -um, *adj.* strong, reliable; *superl.* firmissimus.
- forensis**, -e, *adj.* belonging to the Forum or law-courts, public, forensic, 'at the Bar'.
- formido**, -inis, *f.* fear.
- formidolōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* formidable; *superl.* formidolosis-simus.
- fortasse**, *adv.* perhaps, possibly.
- forte**, *adv.* (abl. of fors, 'chance'), by chance.
- fortis**, -e, *adj.* strong, bold, brave; *superl.* fortissimus.
- fortitudo**, -inis, *f.* courage.
- fortūnā**, -ae, *f.* fortune, luck, prosperity, wealth.
- forum**, -i, *n.* forum, market-place (especially the Forum Romanum, or Forum at Rome).
- frāter**, -tris, *m.* brother.
- frēquens**, -entis, *adj.* in great numbers, populous, crowded.
- frētus**, -a, -um, *adj.* (with abl.), relying upon, trusting to.
- fructūs**, -ūs, *m.* fruit, profit, enjoyment, advantage.
- frumentarius**, -a, -um, *adj.* concerned with corn, or provisions; **res frumentaria**, grain, provisions.
- fructor**, fructus, *v.* 3 *dep.* enjoy, reap the advantage of.
- fuga**, -ae, *f.* flight.
- fugio**, -i, -itum, *v.* 3, escape, escape from.
- Gābinus**, -i, *m.* the name of a Roman gens; *adj.* Gābinus, -a, -um (lex Gābinia), Gābinian, proposed by Gābinus.
- Gallia**, -ae, *f.* Gaul.
- Gallus**, -i, *m.* a Gaul.
- gaudēo**, gavisus sum, *v.* 2, rejoice, be glad.
- gaza**, -ae, *f.* treasure, riches.
- gens**, gentis, *f.* race, nation.
- gēnus**, -eris, *n.* kind, class, character.
- gēro**, gessi, gestum, *v.* 3, perform, carry on, wage (of war).
- gesta**, *neut. plur. part. as subst.* achievements, deeds.
- Glābrio**, -ōnis, *m.* proper name, Glābrio.
- glōria**, -ae, *f.* glory, renown.
- gnāvus**, -a, -um, *adj.* diligent, energetic, assiduous.
- grādus**, -ūs, *m.* degree, rank.
- Graeciā**, -ae, *f.* Greece.
- Graecus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Greek.
- grātiā**, -ae, *f.* favour, thanks.
- grāvis**, -e, *adj.* disagreeable, of grave import, important, dignified, severe; *compar.* gravior, *superl.* gravissimus.
- grāvitās**, -ātis, *f.* weight, importance, impressiveness.
- grāviter**, *adv.* vehemently, seriously, severely, with weighty argument.
- grāvō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, weigh

- down; *in pass.* hesitate, object to, shrink from.
gubernō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, steer, direct.
hābēō, -tū, -itum, v. 2, have, hold, possess.
herculē or herclē, adv. interj. By Hercules! (*so mehercules, mehercule*).
hibernā, -ōrum, n. pl. winter-quarters.
hibernō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, winter.
hic, adv. here, herein.
hic, haec, hoc, dem. pron. this, this man, he (she, it); *often conjoined with -cō, hīc.*
hiems, -em̄is, f. winter.
Hispaniā, -ae, Spain.
Hispaniensis, -e, adj. a native of Spain, Spanish.
hōdī, adv. to-day.
hōmō, -inis, m. a man, human being.
honestus, -a, -um, adj. honourable, distinguished; *superl. honestissimus.*
hōnōr or hōnos, -ōris, m. honour, official position.
Hortensius, Roman gentile name.
hortor, -ātus, v. 1 dep. exhort, urge, incite, encourage.
hostilis, -e, adj. hostile, unfriendly.
hostis, -is, m. and f. enemy.
hūc, adv. hither, to this place.
hūmānitas, -ātis, f. gentleness, kindness, courtesy.
lacrā, -ae, f. loss, sacrifice.
iam, adv. now, already, by this time.
ibi, adv. there.
idem, eīdem, Idem, pron. the same.
Idōneus, -a, -um, adj. fit, suitable.
igitur, conj. therefore, accordingly, then.
ignōminia, -ae, f. disgrace.
ignorō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, to be ignorant of.
illū, -a, -ud, pron. that, this, he (she, it); (*illud often* the well-known, the following).
Illyricus, -a, -um, adj. of or belonging to Illyria (*mod. Dalmatia and Albania*).
imminēō, v. 2, to overhang, threaten, menace.
imminūō, -nūi, -nūtum, v. 3, lessen, curtail, diminish.
immortālis, -e, adj. immortal.
impēdīō, -ivi or -ii, -itum, v. 4, hinder.
impērātor, -ōris, m. general, commander.
imperātorius, -a, -um, adj. of or pertaining to a general.
impērium, -ii, n. empire, dominion, command.
impēro, -āvi, -ātum, v. 4, order, command.
impertīō, -ivi or -ii, -itum, v. 4, impart, bestow.
impetrō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, obtain by asking.
impētūs, -ūs, m. attack, onslaught, assault, weight.
implicō, -cūi, -cītum (and -cāvi, -cātum), v. 1, entangle, involve, to be bound up with.
imprōbō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1, disapprove of, disallow, reject.
impūdēns, -entis, adj. impudent, shameless.
in, prep. with acc. into, to, on, for, against; *with abl.* in, in the case of, among.
inauditus, -a, -um, part. adj. unheard-of.
incipio, -cēpi, -ceptum, v. 3, commence, begin.
inoblūtis, -e, adj. safe, unimpaired.
incommōdum, -i, n. loss, damage.
incredibilis, -e, adj. incredible, strange, beyond belief.
incumbo, -cūbui, -cūbūtum, v. 3,

- to devote one's self to, to throw one's self into.
- inde**, *adv.* thence, from that point or time.
- indigne**, *adv.* unworthily; *compar.* **indignus**.
- indignus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unworthy.
- industria**, -ae, *f.* diligence, activity.
- industrius**, -a, -um, *adj.* energetic, industrious.
- inēo**, -ivi or -ii, -itum, *v.* 4, enter, begin, commence.
- inferō**, **intūli**, **illātum**, **inferre**, *v.* 3, to bring or carry into.
- infimus**, -a, -um, lowest, weakest (*superl. of inferus*, -a, -um).
- inflammō**, -avi, -ātum, *v.* 1, set on fire, inflame.
- info**, -avi, -ātum, *v.* 1, puff up, make proud.
- ingenium**, -ii, *n.* ability, talent, wit.
- ingrātus**, -a, -um, *adj.* ungrateful.
- insolo**, -lōci, -lectum, *v.* 3, inspire, cause.
- inimicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* hostile; *superl.* **inimicissimus**.
- iniquitas**, -atis, *f.* unreasonable-ness.
- initium**, -ii, *n.* beginning.
- iniuriā**, -ae, *f.* injury, wrong, wrong-doing.
- iniuriōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* injurious, unjust; *adv. compar.* **iniuriosius**, somewhat unjustly.
- innocens**, -ntis, *adj.* guiltless, innocent, free from corruption.
- innocentia**, -ae, *f.* freedom from corruption, purity of motive.
- innumērabilis**, -e, *adj.* innumerable.
- inopiā**, -ae, *f.* poverty, want, scarcity.
- inquam**, *defect. verb. 1st pers. sing. pres.* I say.
- inruptio**, -ōnis, *f.* incursion, invasion.
- insidō**, -sēdi, -sēsum, *v.* 3, settle upon, sink in.
- insignē**, -is, *n.* badge, mark, token, emblem, symbol.
- insolitus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unwonted, unfamiliar, strange.
- inspecto**, -avi, -ātum, *v.* 1, look upon, watch.
- institutum**, -i, *n.* precedent, institution, usage.
- institutus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (institutus), entered upon, begun, laid down.
- instructus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (instruo), equipped, supplied, furnished with.
- insulā**, -ae, *f.* island.
- insum**, **inesso**, **infūli**, to be in, to be contained or found in.
- intēger**, -gra, -grum, *adj.* entire, unbroken, with power unimpaired.
- intēgrē**, *adv.* correctly, honestly, with clear conscience.
- intēgritas**, -atis, *f.* uprightness.
- intelligo**, -exi, -ectum, *v.* 3, understand, feel.
- inter**, *prep. with acc.* in the course of, in the midst of.
- intercessio**, -ōnis, *f.* protest, intercession, veto.
- interficio**, -fēcī, -fectum, *v.* 3, kill.
- intērior**, *neut.* **interius**, *gen. -loris*, *compar.* inner, interior.
- interniciō**, -ōnis, *f.* massacre, carnage.
- intrā**, *adv. and prep. with acc.* within.
- intūsor**, -itus, *v.* 2 *dep.* look at, behold, regard.
- inultus**, -a, -um, *adj.* upon whom no vengeance is taken, unpunished.
- insulātus**, -a, -um, *adj.* strange, unusual, novel.
- inūtilis**, -e, *adj.* useless.
- invenio**, -vēmī, -ventum, *v.* 4, find, discover.

- inveteratōs**, -veterāvī, *v.* 3, grow old, become established, firmly rooted.
- invictūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* unconquered, invincible.
- invisūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* hateful, displeasing.
- invisus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unwilling.
- ipse**, -a, -um, *dem. pron.* (used both as *subst.* and as *adj.*) self, myself (himself, yourself, &c.), mere, simple.
- irascor**, iratus, *v.* 3 *dep.* be angry.
- is**, ēa, id, *dem. pron.* he (she, it), that, this, such.
- iste**, -a, -ud, *dem. pron.* this, that (of yours, especially used of things connected with the person addressed). *In speeches*, one's opponent; often with irony or contempt.
- ita**, *adv.* so, thus, accordingly, and so.
- Itālia**, -ae, *f.* Italy.
- Itaque**, *conj.* and so, accordingly.
- Item**, *adv.* likewise, so.
- iter**, Itineris, *n.* journey, way, march.
- Iterum**, *adv.* a second time, again.
- iucundus**, -a, -um, *adj.* pleasant, agreeable; *superl.* iucundissimus.
- iudex**, -icis, *m.* judge.
- iudicium**, -ii, *n.* judgment, sentence, verdict.
- iudicō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, judge, decide, pass verdict, proclaim, declare.
- Jugurthā**, -ae, *m.* proper name, Jugurtha (king of the Numidians).
- ius**, iuris, *n.* law, right; *adv.* iure, rightly, duly.
- iussus**, -us, *m.* command, order.
- iuvō**, iuvi, iutum, *v.* 1, assist, succour, support.
- L**, *abbreviation for Lucius.*
- libellio**, -licī, -factum, *v.* 3, cause to shake, undermine, shatter, destroy.
- libēs**, -is, *f.* stain, disgrace, blot.
- liber**, -oris, *m.* labour, toil, exertion, energy.
- laboriosus**, -a, -um, *adj.* toilsome, industrious; *superl.* laboriosissimus.
- labōro**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, labour, strive.
- laesare**, -ivi, -itum, *v.* 3, provoke, challenge.
- laetitia**, -ae, *f.* joy, pleasure.
- laetor**, -atus, *v.* 1 *dep.* rejoice, be glad at.
- late**, *adv.* widely (*compar.* latius).
- latrō**, -ae, *f.* hiding-place, covert, retreat.
- latō**, -ui, *v.* 2, lie hid.
- laudo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, praise, eulogize.
- laus**, laudis, *f.* praise, fame, glory.
- legatio**, -onis, *f.* embassy, legation, the persons of an embassy.
- legatus**, -i, *m.* ambassador, envoy, deputy.
- legio**, -onis, *f.* legion (military term).
- lego**, legi, lectum, *v.* 3, read, read about.
- legō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, to appoint as *legatus* (staff-officer).
- Lentulus**, -i, *m.* proper name (surname of a family of the *gens* Cornelia).
- lex**, legis, *f.* law.
- libenter**, *adv.* willingly, gladly.
- liber**, -tra, -trum, *adj.* free.
- liberō**, *adv.* freely.
- liberi**, -trum, *m. plur.* (of *liber*), children.
- liberō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, free, liberate.
- libertas**, -atis, *f.* freedom.

libido, -inis, *f.* passion, fancy, caprice, lawless desire.
libet, *libet* and *libetum est*, *v.* 2 *impers.* it is permitted, all may.
litterae, -arum, *f. plur.* letters, despatches.
locuplēs, -ētis, *adj.* rich, wealthy; *superl.* locupletissimus.
locuplētō, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, grow rich, enrich.
lōcus, -i, *m.* place.
longē, *adv.* far, far off.
longinquitas, -ātis, *f.* distance.
longinquus, -a, -um, *adj.* remote, distant.
longus, -a, -um, *adj.* long, extending far; *compar.* longior.
loquor, -cūtus, *v.* 3 *dep.* speak, say.
Lūcūs, -ii, *m.* a Roman praenomen (*abbrev. L.*).
Lūcullus, -i, family name of the Licinian gens.
lūdus, -i, *m.* school.
lūmen, -inis, *n.* light; *metaph.* gem, star, glory.
lux, lūcis, *f.* light, daylight, salvation.
M., *abbreviation for Manius.*
macula, -ae, *f.* spot, blemish, stain, disgrace.
maeror, -ōris, *m.* grief.
magis, *adv.* more.
magistrātus, -ūs, *m.* magistracy, magistrate.
magnitudo, -inis, *f.* greatness.
magnus, -a, -um, *adj.* great, large, rich, splendid (*compar.* maior, -us, *gen.* -ōris; *superl.* maximus).
maioris. See *magnus*.
malō, mālui, malle, *v.* irreg. prefer, choose rather.
mālum, -i, *n.* evil, calamity, mischief.
mando, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, com-

mit to one, put in one's hands, assign, bestow.
mando, -avi, -atum, *v.* 2, remain, stand firm.
Mānius, a Roman praenomen.
mansuetudo, -inis, *f.* kindness.
manus, -ūs, *f.* hand; (2) band, troop, host.
Marcellus, -i, *m.* proper name (belonging to the plebeian gens Claudia).
mare, -is, *n.* sea.
maritimus, -a, -um, *adj.* maritime, marine.
Mārius, -i, *m.* proper name of a Roman gens.
māturus, -a, -um, *adj.* early, speedy.
maximē, *adv.* in the highest degree, especially.
Maximus, -a, -um. See *magnus*. Maximus is a title of Q. Fabius.
me, *accusat. sing. of pers. pr. ego.*
Medea, -ae, *f.* proper name, Medea.
mēdior, -āvi, *v.* 2 *dep.* heal, cure.
mēdius, -a, -um, *adj.* that is in the middle, mid, middle.
membrum, -i, *n.* limb, member, part.
mēmīni, -meminisse, *v. defect.* remember, recall, call to mind.
mēmōria, -ae, *f.* memory, recollection; *post hominum memoriam*, 'in the memory of man', 'since history began'.
mens, mentis, *f.* mind, purpose, thoughts.
mercātor, -ōris, *m.* merchant, trader.
merx, mercis, *f.* wares, commodities, merchandise.
Mētellus, -i, *m.* proper name of a family of the Roman gens Caccilia.
mētū, -ui, -ātum, *v.* 3, fear.

mētus, -ūs, *m.* fear, apprehension.
mēus, -a, -um, *poss. adj.* my, mine, of me.
mihī, *dat. sing. of ego*, 'to me'.
miles, -itis, *m.* soldier.
militāris, -e, *adj.* military, war-like.
militia, -ae, *f.* military service, warfare; *locative*, **militiae**, in war, in the field.
mille, *subst. n.*, with *plur.* **milla**, combined with *gen.* a thousand.
minae, -arum, *f. plur.* menaces, threats.
minitōr, -ātus, *v. 1 dep.* threaten, menace.
minōr, -ātus, *v. 1*, threaten, menace.
minus, *adv.* less; with *quo* (*quominus*) as *final conj.* that ...not; but *quo minus* in § 59, 'by what the less...by that the...'
mirōr, -atus sum, *v. 1 dep.* wonder at.
miscuo, **miscui**, **mixtum**, *v. 2*, mix, mingle, embroil, stir up.
Misenum, -i, *n.* proper name (of a promontory and town in Campania in Italy).
misēria, -ae, *f.* affliction, distress.
misēricordia, -ae, *f.* pity, mercy, compassion.
Mithridātes, -is or -i, *m.* proper name, Mithridates, king of Pontus.
Mithridaticus, -a, -um, *adj.* of or belonging to or concerned with Mithridates.
mitto, **mihi**, **misum**, *v. 3*, send.
moderātiō, -ōnis, *f.* moderation, justice, self-restraint.
moderātus, -a, -um, *adj.* temperate, self-controlled; *compar.* **moderatio**.
modo, *adv.* only, but now, recently.

modus, -i, *m.* fashion, sort, limit, restriction; *quemadmodum*, how.
molestus, -a, -um, *adj.* troublesome, hostile, vexatious.
mors, -tis, *f.* death.
mōtus, -ūs, *m.* movement, fall, collapse, shock.
multitudo, -inis, *f.* multitude, number.
multo, *adv.* by much, by far, much.
multus, -a, -um, *adj.* much (*plur.* many).
mūnō, -vi or -i, -itum, *v. 4*, fortify.
mūnūs, -eria, *n.* function, duty.
Murēnā, -ae, proper name of a family of the Licinian gens.
mūrus, -i, *m.* wall.
nam, *conj.* for.
nascor, **nātus** sum, *v. 3 dep.* be born.
nātio, -ōnis, *f.* nation, people.
nauticus, -a, -um, *adj.* nautical, naval.
nāvalis, -e, *adj.* naval, marine.
nāviculārius, -ii, *m.* ship-owner.
nāvigātio, -ōnis, *f.* navigation, voyage.
nāvigō, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, sail, navigate, go on a voyage.
nāvis, -is, *f.* ship.
navus, -a, -um (*gnavus*), *adj.* diligent, busy.
ne, *conj.* that...not, lest, that.
neq (*neque*), nor; **neq** (*neque*) ... **neq** (*neque*), neither...nor; **neq** (*neque*)...**et** (*or -que*), not only not...but also.
necessārius, -a, -um, *adj.* necessary, unavoidable, inevitable.
necessitudo, -inis, *f.* close connection, intimacy, tie.
neco, -āvi, -ātum, *v. 1*, kill, butcher, massacre.
negligo, -exi, -ectum, *v. 3*, neglect, disregard.

- negotior, -atus, v. 1 dep.** trade, carry on business.
negotium, li, n. business, affair.
nemo, -inis (*but in classical Lat. nullus, from nullus, is used as the gen., and nullō, nullā, for the abl.*), no one, no man, none.
nequē (= nec), and not, nor; neque vero, nor indeed.
nervus, -i, m. sinew.
nōvō, adv. and not, nor.
nihil, n. indecl. nothing; *as an adv.* in no respect, not at all.
nimis, adv. too, too much.
nimius, -a, -um, adj. excessive, too much, too great.
nisi, conj. unless, except, save only.
nobilis, -e, adj. famous; *superl. nobilissimus.*
nobilitas, -atis, f. renown, fame, celebrity.
noceo, -cul, -ctum, v. 2, harm, injure.
nōlo, nōlui, nolle, v. irreg. to be unwilling.
nōmen, -inis, n. name, fame.
nōmino, -avi, -atum, v. 1, to name.
nōn, adv. not; *nonne, introducing a question expecting the answer 'Yes'.*
nondum, adv. not yet.
nosco, nōvi, nōtum, v. 3, know.
noster, -stra, -strum, poss. adj. our, of us (*often best translated by 'from Rome', or 'Roman'.*)
nōvus, -a, -um, adj. new, fresh.
nullus, -a, -um, adj. no, none, not any.
num, adv., interrog. particle usually implying that an answer in the negative is expected; *in indirect interrogation, whether.*
Numantia, -ae, f. proper name, a town in Spain.
numerus, -i, m. number.
numquam, adv. never.
nunc, adv. now, as it is, as things are.
nuntius, -ii, m. messenger, message.
nūper, adv. lately, recently.
obō, -ivi or -ii, -itum, v. 4, enter upon, engage in, execute, accomplish.
obliviō, -ōnis, f. a forgetting, forgetfulness, effacement of the memory of.
obediō, -ivi, -itum, v. 4, obey, yield obedience to.
obscurus, -a, -um, adj. in the dark, unknown, secret.
obsecundō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, comply with, humour, favour.
obscis, -idis, m. and f. hostage.
obsidēō, -ēdi, -easum, v. 2, besiege, blockade, beset, invest.
obsidiō, -ōnis, f. investment, blockade.
obsolescō, -evi, v. 3, to become obsolete.
obtempērō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, submit to, obey, listen to.
obtrectō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, disparage, underrate.
occasiō, -ōnis, f. opportunity.
occultō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, hide, conceal.
occupō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, seize, take possession of, locked up, sunk (of funds).
Oceanus, -i, m. the ocean.
oculus, -i, m. eye.
odi, odisse, v. defect. hate.
odium, -ii, n. hate, enmity, hatred.
offensio, -ōnis, f. failure, misfortune, blow.
offero, obtuli, oblātum, offerre, v. 3, offer, present, proffer, bestow.
omitto, -isi, -issum, v. 3, neglect, lay aside, pass over.
omnis, -e, adj. all, every, the whole, every kind of.

onus, -us, n. load, cargo.
opimus, -a, -um, adj. rich, fertile.
opinio, -onis, f. opinion, belief, impression, expectation, prejudice, preconception.
opinor, -atus, v. 1 dep. think.
oportere (oportet, oportuit), v. 2 impers. it behoves, is becoming, one ought.
oppidum, -i, n. town.
opportunitas, -atis, f. fitness, convenience.
oppressi, -pressi, -pressum, v. 3, crus, overpower.
oppugno, -avi, -atum, v. 1, assault, attack, assail.
ops, opis, f. power, resources, means.
optimus, -a, -um, superl. of bonus; adv. optime, splendidly.
opto, -avi, -atum, v. 1, wish for, pray for, desire.
ora, -ae, f. border, coast, region.
oratio, -onis, f. speech, utterance, language, theme.
orbis, -is, m. circle (*with terrae, 'the world'*).
ordo, -inis, m. order, class, rank.
ornamentum, -i, n. ornament, decoration, adornment, distinction.
ornatus, -us, in graceful style (of oratory).
ornatus, -a, -um, adj. fitted out, equipped, wealthy, adorned, embellished, distinguished, honourable; *superl. ornatissimus.*
ornō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, equip, fit out.
ostendō, -di, -sum and -tum, v. 3, show, display.
Ostiensis, -e, adj. belonging to Ostia (the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber).
ostium, -ii, n. mouth, entrance.
P., abbreviation for Publius.
pacatus, -a, -um, part. adj.

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peaceful, quiet, pacifically disposed.
pacō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, pacify, make quiet or peaceful.
Pamphylia, -ae, f. Pamphylia, a district in southern Asia Minor.
pār, pāris, adj. equal, equal to.
paratus, -a, -um, part. adj. ready, prepared; *superl. paratissimus.*
parens, -entis, m. and f. parent.
parō, -ui, -itum, v. 2, obey.
pars, partis, f. part, division, region; *aliqua ex parte, to some degree.*
partim, adv. partly, in part, a part, some of, some.
parum, adv. and subst. indecl. too little.
parvulus, -a, -um, adj. very small, petty.
parvus, -a, -um, adj. little, small, few.
pastio, -onis, f. pasturing, pasture.
patefacio, -feci, -factum, v. 3, lay open, disclose.
pateō, -ui, v. 2, to lie open, be free, accessible, be evident.
pater, -tris, m. father, ancestor.
pātor, passus sum, v. 3 dep. endure, suffer, allow.
pātrius, -a, -um, adj. paternal.
paucus, -a, -um, adj. (*mostly used in plur.*), few, little.
paulō, adv. by a little, a little.
pax, pācis, f. peace.
pecū, dat. -ui, abl. -ui; pl. pecua, gen. pecuum, n. cattle.
pecuārius, -a, -um, adj. of or belonging to cattle; *with res, stock of cattle.*
pecuniā, -ae, f. money, riches, sums of money.
pecus, pecoris, n. cattle, herds, flocks.
pello, pepuli, pulsum, v. 3, repulse, defeat.
penitus, adv. inwardly, deeply, into the inmost part.
penitō, -avi, -atum, v. 1, pay.

La

- p̄r**, *prep.* with *acc.* in accordance with, through, by means of, owing to (of a reason that permits or hinders); *in oaths*, by.
- p̄rādūlescens**, -entis, *adj.* very young.
- p̄rbr̄vis**, -e, *adj.* very short, very small.
- p̄rditus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (perdo), ruined, broken.
- p̄rfectus**, -a, -um, *part. adj.* (perficio), perfected, finished.
- p̄rfero**, p̄rtūli, p̄rlātum, p̄rferre, *v.* 3 *irreg.* bear, bring, carry.
- p̄rficio**, -feci, -fectum, *v.* 3, accomplish, bring to pass.
- p̄rfūgium**, -ii, *n.* refuge, shelter.
- p̄rīcūlōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* dangerous.
- p̄rīcūlum**, -i, *n.* danger, peril.
- p̄rīnq̄us**, -a, -um, *adj.* very unfair.
- p̄ritus**, -a, -um, *adj.* skilled, experienced, practised; *superl.* p̄rtissimus.
- p̄rmagnus**, -a, -um, *adj.* very great.
- p̄rmaneo**, -mansi, -mansum, *v.* 2, last, persist, abide, continue.
- p̄rmitto**, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, allow, permit, entrust to.
- p̄rmultus**, -a, -um, *adj.* very much, very many.
- p̄rpētus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unbroken, continuous.
- p̄rsequor**, -citus, *v.* 3 *dep.* follow up, pursue closely, prosecute, avenge.
- P̄rsēs**, -ae, *m.* proper name, King Perses or Perseus.
- p̄rseverantia**, -ae, *f.* perseverance, steadfastness.
- p̄rspicio**, -spexi, -spectum, *v.* 3, perceive, see through, see into.
- p̄rtimesco**, -mūi, *v.* 3, dread.
- p̄rtineo**, -ti, *v.* 2, reach to, relate to, concern, affect.
- p̄rvado**, -vasi, -vasum, *v.* 3, spread among, impress, reach.
- p̄rvēnio**, -vēni, -ventum, *v.* 4, come to, come into, arrive at.
- Philippus**, -i, *m.* proper name, Philip.
- plēbs**, -ti and -i, *f.* old form of plebs, plēbis, *f.* the commons of Rome.
- plēnus**, -a, -um, *adj.* full; *superl.* plenissimus.
- plūrimus**, -a, -um, *adj.* (*superl.* of multus), very many (much), a great number.
- plūs**, plūris (*subst.*); *plural*, plūres, *neut. plura* (*subst. and adj.*), *compar.* of multus, more, several.
- poenā**, -ae, *f.* penalty, punishment.
- Poenicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Punic, Carthaginian.
- Poenus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Punic, Carthaginian; *as. subst.* Poenus, -i, a Carthaginian.
- pōtā**, -ae, *m. and f.* poet.
- polliceor**, pollicitus, *v.* 2 *dep.* promise, proffer.
- Pompēius**, -i, *m.* proper name, Pompeius.
- pōno**, pōui, pōitum, *v.* 3, place, set, base upon.
- Pontūs**, -i, *m.* Pontus, a district in Asia Minor.
- pōpulus**, -i, *m.* people.
- portūs**, -ūs, *m.* harbour, haven, port.
- possum**, possē, pōtui, *v. irreg.* am able, can.
- postea**, *adv.* afterwards.
- posteaquam**, *conj.* after that, after (*with indic.*).
- postrēmō**, *adv.* finally.
- postulō**, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, ask, demand.
- pōtens**, -entis, *part. adj.* mighty, powerful; *superl.* potentissimus.

pōtestas, -*atis*, *f.* power, authority.
potissimum, *adv.* preferably, rather, above all.
praeceptum, -*i*, *n.* principle, precepts, teaching.
praecipuus, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* special, peculiar.
praecīlārus, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* brilliant, splendid, famous.
praeda, -*ae*, *f.* plunder, pillage.
praedīcō, -*āvī*, -*ātum*, *v.* 1, say, relate.
praeditus, -*a*, -*um*, *part. adj.* gifted, endowed, furnished with.
praedō, -*ōnis*, *m.* robber, brigand, pirate.
praefēro, -*ferre*, -*tūlī*, -*lātum*, *v. irreg.* prefer, place before.
praeficiō, -*fici*, -*fectum*, *v.* 3, set over.
praepōnō, -*posui*, -*positum*, *v.* 3, set over, set in command.
praescribo, -*scripi*, -*scriptum*, *v.* 3, prescribe, appoint, ordain.
praesens, -*entis*, *part. adj.* (praesum), present, in person, on the spot, before one's eyes.
praesentia, -*ae*, *f.* presence.
praesertim, *adv.* especially, chiefly, principally.
praesideo, -*sedī*, *v.* 2, guard, protect.
praesidium, -*ii*, *n.* protection, garrison, guard.
praestō, -*iti*, -*itum* or -*ātum*, *v.* 1, warrant, be surety for, guarantee, perform.
praesum, **praesumo**, **praesui**, to be over, to command.
praeter, *prep. with acc.* except, beyond, contrary to.
praeterea, *adv.* besides.
praetereō, -*ivi* and -*ii*, -*itum*, *v.* 1, pass by, pass over.
praetēritā, -*orum*, *neut. plur. of past part.* the past.

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praetor, -*ōris*, *m.* praetor (Roman magistrate).
praetōrius, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* praetorian, of or belonging to a praetor, who has been praetor.
prēmo, **pressi**, **pressum**, *v.* 3, press, oppress, crush.
primum, *adv.* first, in the first place, firstly.
primus, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.*, *superl.* first, foremost.
princeps, -*cipis*, *m. and f.* first, chief, chief person.
principium, -*ii*, *n.* beginning.
privātus, -*a*, -*um*, *part. adj.* private; *as subst.* **privatus**, -*i*, *m.* a private person, one not in office.
prō, *prep. with abl.* before, for, on behalf of, in place of, in return for, according to, conformably with.
prō, interjection expressing wonder or grief.
prōcessiō, -*ōnis*, *f.* advance, march forward.
prōcul, *adv.* far off, far away.
prōditus, -*a*, -*um*, *part. adj.* (prōdō), hand down, record.
proellum, -*ii*, *n.* battle, contest, engagement.
prōfectō, *adv.* surely, certainly, undoubtedly.
prōfiscor, -*fectus*, *v.* 3 *dep.* depart, set out, start, originate from, proceed from.
prōfiteor, -*fessus*, *v.* 2 *dep.* declare.
prōfūgio, -*fūgi*, -*fugitum*, *v.* 3, flee, escape, take to flight.
progressiō, -*ōnis*, *f.* advance.
prōhibēō, -*hī*, -*itum*, *v.* 2, prevent, check, restrain.
prōmulgō, -*āvī*, -*ātum*, *v.* 1, publish, make known.
prōpē, *prep. with acc.* near; *adv.* nearly, almost.
prōpōnō, -*posui*, -*positum*, *v.* 3, set forth, place before.

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- proprius**, -a, -um, *adj.* special, one's own, characteristic.
- propter**, *prep.* with acc. near, hard by; on account of, by reason of; *as adv.* near, at hand, hard by.
- propterea**, *adv.* on that account; with quod, because.
- propugnaculum**, -i, *n.* bulwarks, defence.
- prösterno**, -strävi, -strätum, *v.* 3, throw down, overthrow.
- prövideo**, -vidi, -visum, *v.* 2, foresee, provide for, care for, take care.
- prövinciä**, -ae, *f.* province, area of administration.
- prövöcö**, -ävi, -ätum, *v.* 1, stir up, challenge.
- proximus**, -a, -um, *superl.* next, ensuing, the next following.
- prudentiä**, -ae, *f.* direction, prudence, sagacity.
- publicanus**, -a, -um, *adj.* concerned with the public revenue; *as subst.* publicanus, -i, *m.* farmer of taxes.
- publicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* public.
- Pöblius**, -ii, a Roman praenomen (*abbrev.* P.).
- püdet** (püdeo), -üi, *v.* 2, *impersonal*, to be ashamed, feel shame.
- püdör**, -öris, *m.* shame, sense of honour, conscientiousness.
- pueritiä**, -ae, *f.* boyhood.
- pugna**, -ae, *f.* fight, battle.
- pugno**, -ävi, -ätum, *v.* 1, fight.
- pulcher**, -chra, -chrum, *adj.* beautiful, glorious; *superl.* pulcherrimus.
- Punicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Punic, Carthaginian.
- püto**, -ävi, -ätum, *v.* 1, think, consider, deem.
- Q.**, *abbreviation* for Quintus.
- qua**, *adv.* (*abl. fem. of qui*), where, how, by what means.
- quaerö**, **quaesivi**, **quaesitum**, *v.* 3, ask, inquire, seek, look for.
- quaestör**, -öris, *m.* quaestor (Roman magistrate and financial officials).
- quaestüs**, -üs, *m.* gain, trade.
- quälis**, -e, *pron. adj. interrog.* and *rel.* of what sort, what kind of, such as; **tälis...quälis**, such...as.
- quäm**, *adv.*, *after compar.* than, as; *in dependent clauses, indirect questions, &c.* how; **täm...** quam, so...as, so much...as.
- quamquam**, *conj.* though, although.
- quantus**, -a, -um, *adj.* how great; **täntus...quantus**, so great...as.
- quärs**, *adv.* wherefore, therefore.
- quäsi**, *adv.* as if, as though, as it were.
- quattör**, *num. adj.* four.
- quö**, *conj., enclitic*, and.
- quemadmodum**, or **quem ad modum**, *adv.* in what manner, how.
- quärimöniä**, -ae, *f.* complaint.
- quöror**, **quästus**, *v.* 3 *dep.* lament, complain.
- qui**, **quae**, **quod** (*gen. cuius*), *pron. rel.* who, which, that.
- quicumque**, **quaecumque**, **quodcumque**, *rel. pron.* whoever, whatever, whosoever.
- quidam**, **quaedam**, **quoddam** (*and subst. quiddam*), *pron. indef.* a certain, somebody (something).
- quidem**, *adv.* indeed; **ne...** quidem, not even.
- quies**, -ëtis, *f.* repose, rest.
- quin**, *conj.* but that, that.
- Quintus**, -i, *m.* proper name, Quintus; *abbrev.* Q.
- Qui is**, -itis (*mostly in plur.* **Quirites**, -itum or -itum), *m.* Quirites (= Romans).

- quis, quis, quid**, *pron. interrog.* who? which? what? *adv. quid?* what? how? again, moreover; why, wherefore.
- quis, quis, quid**, *pron. indef. as subst.* anyone, anybody, someone; usually combined with *si*, *num*, *nisi*, &c.
- quisnam**, *m. and f. quidnam*, *interr. pron.* who (what) pray? who in the world?
- quisquam, quaequam, quicquam (quidquam)**, *pron. indef.* anyone, anything, something.
- quisquē, quaeque, quidque**, *indef. pron.* each, every (often conjoined with a *superl.* to denote a whole class).
- quō**, *adv.* whither, to which place; on which account, wherefore; as *final conj.* in order that, that.
- quocumque**, *adv.* whithersoever.
- quōd**, *conj.* because, in that, that, the fact that, as to the fact that.
- quodsi** (or as two words, **quod si**), *conj.* but if, and if, if however.
- quominus** (or as two words, **quominus**), *conj.* that...not.
- quondam**, *adv.* formerly, once, once upon a time.
- quoniam**, *conj.* since, seeing that, because.
- quōque**, *adv.* also.
- quōt**, *indecl. adj.* how many, as many as.
- quōtannis**, every year, annually.
- rāpīō, rāpīi, raptum**, *v. 3.* hurry along, hasten.
- rātiō, -ōnis, f.** way, manner, system, plan, view, interests, respect, regard, consideration.
- receptio, -ōpi, -ceptum**, *v. 3.* receive; with *se*, betake one's self, return.
- reclamō, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* shout in disapproval, protest, cry out against.
- recondor, -atus**, *v. 1 dep.* call to mind, recollect.
- recreō, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* restore, renew, refresh, invigorate.
- rectē**, *adv.* rightly, duly.
- recupērō, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* regain, recover.
- redimō, -ēmi, -emptum**, *v. 3.* to buy, buy up, farm, contract for, ransom.
- reditus, -ūs, m.** return.
- redundo, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* overflow, deluge.
- referō, -ferre, -tālī, -lātum**, *v. irreg.* bring a motion before the senate.
- refert, impers.** it is of importance, it matters; **parvi refert**, it matters little.
- refertus, -a, -um, adj.** filled with, thronged, crowded (*gen. of persons; abl. of things*).
- reficio, -feci, -fectum**, *v. 3.* reappoint, continue in command.
- refugio, -fugi, -fugitum**, *v. 3.* escape, take refuge, shrink from.
- refutō, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* refute, disprove.
- regalis, -e, adj.** royal, kingly.
- regiō, -ōnis, f.** region, district.
- regius, -a, -um, adj.** royal, sovereign.
- regnō, -āvi, -ātum**, *v. 1.* reign, rule.
- regnum, -i, n.** rule, kingdom, sovereignty.
- regō, rexi, rectum**, *v. 3.* rule, control, direct.
- relictus, -a, -um, part. adj.** (relinquo) left, left unpunished.
- religiōsus, -a, -um, adj.** religious, scrupulous, sacred, regarded as holy, inviolate; *superl.* **religiosissimus**.
- relinquo, -liqui, -lictum**, *v. 3.*

- leave, leave unpunished or un-
avenged, neglect.
- reliquus**, -a, -um, *adj.* remain-
ing, remainder, the rest.
- remānēdo**, -manai, -mansum, *v.*
2, remain, abide, endure.
- remex**, -mīgis, *m.* rower, oars-
man.
- remōrōr**, -ātus sum, *v.* 1 *dep.*
delay.
- renōvō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, renew,
restore.
- reŕuntio**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, re-
port, return (*of a presiding*
magistrate announcing a suc-
cessful candidate).
- repellō**, -pūli, -pulsum, *v.* 3,
drive back, repulse, repel.
- repentē**, *adv.* suddenly.
- repentinus**, -a, -um, *adj.* sudden.
- reŕorto**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, bear
back, bring back.
- reŕrimo**, -pressi, -pressum, *v.* 3,
check, restrain.
- repugno**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1,
oppose, withstand, contend
against.
- requirō**, -quisivi, -quisitum, *v.*
3, seek, search for, need, feel
the want of, ask, inquire.
- res**, *rēi*, *f.* thing, affair, matter,
event, fortunes, property, sub-
stance, capital.
- respondō**, -di, -sum, *v.* 2,
answer.
- respublica** (*or two words, res*
publica), *gen.* reipublicae (*rei*
publicae), *f.* state, republic,
commonwealth.
- resto**, -stiti, *v.* 1, remain.
- retardō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, keep
back, hinder, detain, delay.
- retineo**, -ui, -tentum, *v.* 2, hold
fast, retain, preserve.
- revocō**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, call
back, recall.
- rex**, *rēgis*, *m.* king, monarch,
tyrant.
- Rhodiūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* Rhodian;
- as subst.* **Rhodiūs**, -ii, *m.* a
Rhodian.
- rōbūr**, -ōris, *n.* strength, vigour.
- rōgātus**, -ūs, *m.* request.
- rōgo**, -āvi, -ātum, *v.* 1, ask.
- Rōma**, -ae, *f.* Rome; *locative*,
Romae, at Rome.
- Rōmānus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Roman.
- rūmōr**, -ōris, *m.* rumour, report,
common talk.
- rūo**, *rūi*, *rūtum*, *v.* 3, fall, go
to ruin.
- saepe**, *adv.* often, frequently;
compar. saepius; *superl.* sae-
pissime.
- saltus**, -ūs, *m.* forest or wood-
land pasture.
- sālūs**, -ūtis, *f.* safety, welfare.
- salvus**, -a, -um, *adj.* safe, un-
harmed.
- Sāmūs** (*or Samos*), -i, *f.* Samos,
an island off the coast of Asia
Minor.
- sanctūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* sacred,
holy, venerable; *superl.* sanc-
tissimus.
- sanguis**, -inis, *m.* blood.
- sapiens**, -entis, *adj.* wise, pru-
dent, sagacious.
- sapientia**, -ae, *f.* wisdom.
- Sardinia**, -ae, *f.* the island
Sardinia.
- sātis**, *adv.* enough.
- scēlus**, -ēris, *n.* crime, wicked-
ness.
- scientia**, -ae, *f.* knowledge.
- scio**, *scivi*, *scitum*, *v.* 4, know.
- Scipiō**, -ōnis, *m.* Scipio, family
name (*of the gens* Cornelia).
- scribō**, *scripsi*, *scriptum*; *v.* 3,
write, describe, tell.
- scriptūrā**, -ae, *f.* tax paid on
public pastures, grazing-tax.
- sē** (*sese*), *pron. reflex.* himself
(herself, itself), themselves;
gen. sui.
- secundūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* favour-
able.

- scōris, -is, f.** axe (of Roman lictors).
- sēd, conj.** but, yet, on the contrary.
- sējungo, -iunxi, -iunctum, v. 3,** disjoin, disunite, separate.
- sēmpēr, adv.** ever, always, perpetually.
- senātorius, -a, -um, adj.** of a senator, senatorial.
- senātūs, -ūs, m.** Senate.
- sententiā, -aē, f.** opinion, sentiment, meaning, purpose, judgment, decision, sentence.
- sentiō, sensi, sensum, v. 4,** feel, perceive.
- sēpeliō, -pēlvi or -ii, -pāltum, v. 4,** bury, put an end to.
- sermō, -ōnis, m.** talk, conversation, report.
- Sertoriānus, -a, -um, adj.** of or connected with Sertorius.
- servilis, -is, adj.** servile, connected with slaves (bellum, Slave War).
- Servilius, -a, -um, adj.** name of a Roman gens.
- servio, -ivi or -ii, -itum, v. 4,** serve, be a slave or subject to.
- servitūs, -ūtis, f.** slavery.
- sēvērus, -a, -um, adj.** severe, stern, cruel.
- si, conj.** if.
- sibi, dat. of reflex. pron. se (sing. and plur.).**
- sic, adv.** so, thus.
- Sicilia, -aē, f.** the island of Sicily.
- sicut, adv.** as, even as, like.
- significātiō, -ōnis, f.** indication, meaning.
- signum, -i, n.** statue.
- similitēr, adv.** in like manner, similarly.
- simulātiō, -ōnis, f.** pretence.
- simulō, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** feign, counterfeit, pretend.
- simulās, -ātis, f.** hostility, feud.
- sine, conj.** but if.
- sine, prep. with abl.** without.
- singulāris, -is, adj.** singular, remarkable, unparalleled, unique, unrivalled.
- singuli, -ae, -a, distrib. num.** separate, each several.
- sino, sivi, situm, v. 3,** permit, allow.
- Sinōps, -ae, f.** Sinope, a town on the Black Sea.
- sinus, -ūs, m.** bay.
- socius, -a, -um, adj.** sharing, joining in, confederate; as *subst.* socius, -i, m. ally.
- solō, -itum, v. 2,** be wont, be accustomed.
- solum, adv.** only, alone.
- solus, -a, -um, adj.** alone, only, the only.
- solutiō, -ōnis, f.** payment.
- solutus, -a, -um, part. adj.** (solvo), freed from.
- spēculātor, -ōris, m.** spy.
- spēro, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** hope, hope for.
- spēs, spēs, f.** hope.
- spiritus, -ūs, m.** breath, life, spirit, pride, arrogance.
- splendōr, -ōris, m.** brightness, glory.
- spōlia, -ōrum, n. plur.** spoil.
- spolio, -āvi, -ātum, v. 1,** strip, despoil.
- statim, adv.** forthwith, at once, immediately.
- stātūō, -ti, -ūtum, v. 3,** fix, determine, resolve.
- stipendium, -ii, n.** tribute, tax, pay for military service, campaign.
- stūdium, -ii, n.** zeal, eagerness, devotion, party spirit, partisanship.
- sublatus, -a, -um, part. adj.** (tollo), removed, taken away, abolished.
- subaldium, -ii, n.** help, aid, support.

- succedo**, -cessi, -cessum, *v.* 3. take the place of, succeed.
suffragium, -ii, *n.* vote.
Sulla, -ae, *m.* proper name (of the *gens* Cornelia).
sum, esse, fui, *v. irreg.* to be, to be in existence.
summus, *superl. adj.* (superus), very great, in highest degree, height or depth of.
sumo, sumpti, sumptum, *v.* 3, take.
sumptus, -us, *m.* expense, charge, cost, outlay.
superbus, -a, -um, *adj.* proud, haughty.
superior, -us, *compar. adj.* (superus), *gen. superioris*, preceding, former, previous.
supero, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, overcome.
supplex, -icis, *m. and f.* a suppliant.
supplicium, -ii, *n.* torture, outrage.
suscipio, -cepi, -ceptum, *v.* 3, take up, undertake, begin, adopt, take upon one's self, receive, suffer (of a penalty), incur.
suis, -a, -um, *poss. refl. adj.* one's own, his (her, its), own, their own.
Syria, -ae, *f.* the country of Syria.
tabula, -ae, *f.* picture, painting.
tacite, *adv.* (tacitus), silently.
tacitus, -a, -um, *adj.* silent, without employing words.
tæstër, -tra, -trum, *adj.* foul, hideous, horrid.
talis, -e, *adj.* such, of such a kind.
tam, *adv.* so, so much.
tamen, *conj.* yet, however, nevertheless.
tametsi, *conj.* although.
tandem, *adv.* at length, at last, finally; *in questions*, pray, pray now.
tantum, *adv.* so much, so greatly.
tantus, -a, -um, *adj.* so great, so much.
tardo, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, to delay.
tectum, -i, *n.* house, dwelling.
tecto, texi, tectum, *v.* 3, protect, shield.
tëmërè, *adv.* rashly, indiscreetly.
temperantia, -ae, *f.* sobriety, moderation, self-control.
tempestas, -atis, *f.* weather, tempest.
tempestivus, -a, -um, *adj.* seasonable, timely, opportune.
templum, -i, *n.* consecrated space, sanctuary, temple.
tempto, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, to touch, make trial of, tamper with, meddle with, disturb.
tempus, -oris, *n.* time, period, season, fitting time, opportunity, circumstances, time of need, extremity, emergency.
tento, tenti, tentum, *v.* 2, hold, hold sway over.
tenuis, -e, *adj.* feeble.
ter, *num. adv.* three times, thrice.
terræ, -ae, *f.* the earth, land.
terror, -oris, *m.* terror, fear, alarm.
tertius, -a, -um, *adj.* third.
testis, -is, *m. and f.* witness.
testor, -atus sum, *v.* 1 *dep.* appeal to, invoke, call to witness.
Teutoni, -orum, *m. plur.* the Teutons, a German tribe.
Tiberinus, -a, -um, *adj.* of the Tiber.
Tigranès, -is or -i, *m.* proper name, Tigranes, king of Armenia.
timéo, timui, *v.* 2, fear.
timide, *adv.* timidly.
timidus, -a, -um, *adj.* fearful, faint-hearted.

- timor, -oris, *m.* fear.
 tollō, sustulī, sublatum, *v.* 3, take away, remove.
 tot, *num.* indecl. so many.
 totus, -a, -um, *adj.* whole, entire, complete, total.
 tractō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, handle, treat, deal with.
 tradō, -idi, -ditum, *v.* 3, hand down, deliver, bequeath, hand over.
 trahō, traxi, tractum, *v.* 3, draw in, drag, bring.
 transalpinus, -a, -um, *adj.* transalpine, beyond the Alps.
 transmarinus, -a, -um, *adj.* transmarine, foreign.
 transmittō, -misi, -missum, *v.* 3, transmit, transfer, devote, dedicate to; go across, cross.
 triō, tria (*gen.* trium), *num.* *adj.* three.
 tribunus, -i, *m.* tribune (Roman official).
 tribuō, -bui, -bitum, *v.* 3, allot, assign, grant, give.
 triumphō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, triumph, enjoy the honour of a triumph over (*de* with *abl.*).
 triumphus, -i, *m.* a triumph (a solemn entry of Rome by a general and his army in procession).
 trucidō, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, butcher, massacre.
 tu, *2 sing. pers. pron.* you.
 tutor, tutor, *v.* 2 *dep.* defend, maintain, safeguard.
 tūm, *adv.* then.
 turpis, -e, *adj.* base, disgraceful; *superl.* turpissimus.
 turpitudō, -inis, *f.* disgrace, infamy.
 tutor, -atus, *v.* 1 *dep.* guard, keep, protect.
 tutus, -a, -um, *adj.* safe.
 tuus, -a, -um, *poss. pron.* thy, thine, your, yours.
 ubertas, -atis, *f.* wealth, richness, fertility, abundance.
 ubique, *adv.* anywhere, everywhere.
 ullus, -a, -um, *adj.* any.
 ultimus, -a, -um, *adj.* last, final, uttermost.
 umquam, *adv.* ever (*in negative sentences*).
 unā, *adv.* together with, in company with.
 unde, *adv.* whence; *interrog.* whence?
 undequingentesimus, -a, -um, *num. adj.* the forty-ninth.
 undique, *adv.* from all sides, on all sides.
 universus, -a, -um, *adj.* all together, entire, in totality.
 unus, -a, -um, *num. adj.* one, only, alone, or single; unus quisque, each one.
 urbs, urbis, *f.* city (especially the city of Rome).
 usquam, *adv.* anywhere, at any place (*usually in negative and conditional sentences*).
 usque, *adv.* right on, as far as, all the way to.
 utilis, -is, *m.* practice, exercise, employment, experience.
 ut, *conj.* that, so that, in order that; *adv.* in comparisons, with sic, ita, &c., as, in the same manner as, even as, so far as.
 uterque, utrumque, utrumque, (*gen.* utriusque, *dat.* utrique), one and the other, both, each.
 utilitas, -atis, *f.* utility, serviceableness, profit.
 utinam, *adv.* oh that! if only! would that! (*with subj.*).
 tutor, usus sum, *v.* 3 *dep.* use, employ, enjoy or experience.
 utrum, *adv.* whether (*introducing direct and indirect questions, either alone or followed by an, annon, necne*).
 utrum...an, whether...or.

- vacuus**, -a, -um, *adj.* empty, wanting, without, left vacant or deserted.
valde, -ui, -itum, *v.* 2, to be strong or powerful.
varietas, -atis, *f.* diversity, difference.
varius, -a, -um, *adj.* various, diverse.
vectigal, -alis, *n.* tax.
vectigalis, -e, *adj.* tributary, subject to tribute.
vehemens, -entis, *adj.* forcible, strong.
vehementér, *adv.* violently, strongly, forcibly, very much; *adv. superl.* vehementissime.
vendi, *vendi* or *vendi*, -itum, *v.* 4, to be on sale, be sold.
venia, -ae, *f.* indulgence, grace, pardon.
veni, *veni*, ventum, *v.* 4, come.
ventus, -i, *m.* wind.
verber, -aris, *n.* stripe, stroke, blow.
verbum, -i, *n.* word.
veré, *adv.* truly; *compar.* **varius**.
veritas, -atis, *f.* truth.
veró, *adv.* in truth, truly; *an vero*, can it be that? but, but indeed, while.
versor, -atus, *v.* 1 *dep.* move about in a place, live, abide, to be engaged with, concerned in, busied with.
verum, *conj.* but, but yet, however; often combined with *tamen*, nevertheless, notwithstanding, however.
verus, -a, -um, *adj.* true, real, genuine.
vester, -tra, -trum, *poss. adj.* your, of you.
vestigium, -ii, *n.* footsteps.
vestrum, *gen. plur. of personal pron. tu*.
vetus, -aris, *adj.* old, ancient, former.
via, -ae, *f.* roadway, *233* *course, path.*
- viagesimus**, -a, -um, *ord. num. adj.* twentieth.
victor, -oris, *m.* victor, conqueror; *in apposition*, victorious.
victoria, -ae, *f.* victory.
vici, -i, *m.* quarter of a town, hamlet, village.
videlicet, *adv.* it is easy to see, clearly, plainly, of course.
video, *vidi*, visum, *v.* 2, see; *in pass.* seem, appear, seem good.
vigilans, -antis, *adj.* watchful, careful, vigilant.
vigilo, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, watch.
vilitas, -atis, *f.* cheapness.
vinco, *vici*, victum, *v.* 3, conquer, overcome.
vinculum, -i, *n.* bond, fetter (*also vinculum*).
viol, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, injure, violate, outrage.
vir, *vir*, *m.* man.
virtus, -utis, *f.* virtue, courage, worth, excellence.
vis (*acc. vim*; *abl. vi*; *no gen.*), *f.* large quantity, abundance, violence, force, vigour.
vis, *vi*, visum, *v.* 3, behold, contemplate, to go to see.
vita, -ae, *f.* life.
vitium, -ii, *n.* vice, crime, offence.
vivo, *vixi*, victum, *v.* 3, live.
vix, *adv.* scarcely, hardly.
voco, -avi, -atum, *v.* 1, call, bring, put, set.
volo, *velle*, *vultui*, *v. irreg.* wish, be willing.
voluntas, -atis, *f.* will, goodwill, inclination, purpose.
voluptas, -atis, *f.* pleasure, delight.
vox, *vocis*, *f.* voice.
vulgó, *adv.* commonly, universally, generally, publicly.
vulnus, -eris, *n.* wound.

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